

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ANDHRA COUNTRY

K. GOPALACHARI





Madras University Historical Series—No. 16

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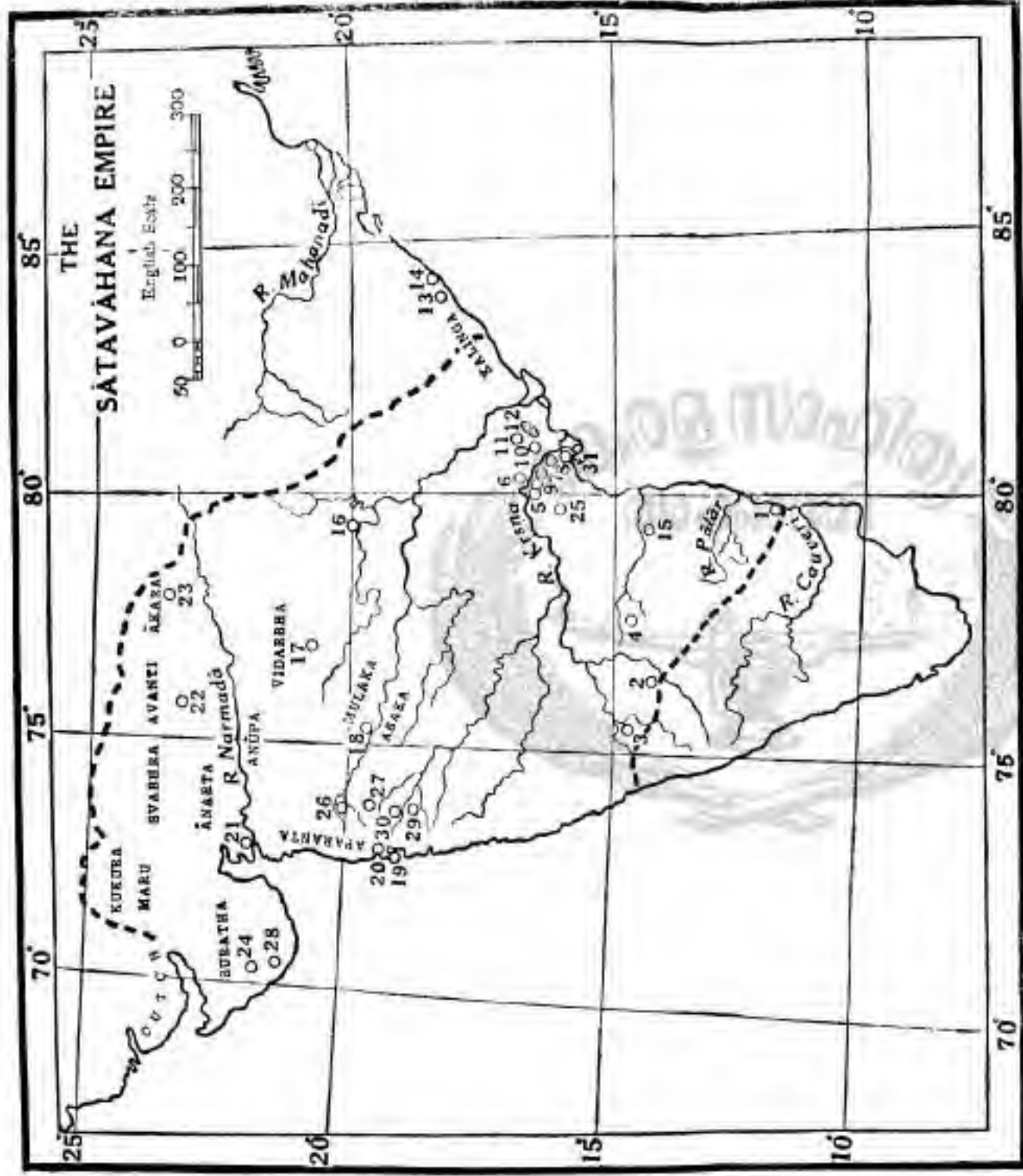
PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ANDHRA COUNTRY



THE
SĀTAVĀHANA EMPIRE





BOUNDARIES OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA EMPIRE MARKED THUS - - - -

- | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Cuddalore | 9. Amaravati | 17. Akola | 25. Vinukonda |
| 2. Chitaldurg | 10. Gudivada | 18. Patithāna | 26. Nāsik |
| 3. Banavāsī | 11. Ellore | 19. Bombay | (Govadhana) |
| 4. Anantpur | 12. Kollair Lake | 20. Supāra | 27. Junnar |
| 5. Dhānyakataka | 13. Chicasole | 21. Bharukaccha | 28. Prabhāsa |
| 6. Nandigama | 14. Kalinagapatam | 22. Ujjain | 29. Māmāla |
| 7. Guntur | 15. Cuddappah | 23. Vidisa | 30. Kārla |
| 8. Tenali | 16. Chanda | 24. Girmār | 31. Bhattiprolu |

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ANDHRA COUNTRY

BY

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UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

1941

Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy



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FOREWORD

Dr K. Gopalachari's book comprises the results of the research he carried on in this department in the years 1934-36. The subject of his study, *The Early History of the Andhra Country*, is well known in its outline but is full of many little problems in epigraphy and archaeology that need elucidation. Dr. Gopalachari's thesis does not claim in any way to revolutionise our interpretation of the history of the period; its value consists in a large number of detailed suggestions confirming results now generally accepted by stronger arguments or bringing forward fresh points of view. Parts of the thesis may be found therefore highly technical and possibly of little interest to the general reader; but there is much in the thesis not merely in the selection of facts but also in their elucidation and presentation that I hope will be recognised to be of permanent value to all historians of India.

I have great pleasure in tendering on behalf of Dr. Gopalachari and myself our sincere thanks to the Syndicate of the University of Madras for their sanctioning the inclusion of the work in the Departmental series.

University Buildings,
Triplicane, Madras,
15th Sept. 1941.

K. A. N.

PREFACE

This book represents my work as a research scholar in the Department of Indian History in the University of Madras from 1934 to 1936. It is an attempt to present a connected history of the Āndhras and the Āndhra country from the earliest times to the advent of the Eastern Cājukyas. The Viṣṇukunḍins had to be brought into the picture as they close the epoch. A full account of the dynasty would have involved a study of the many contemporary dynasties and increased the bulk of the volume. So the last chapter is a compromise, a treatment of the skirts and fringes of the subject.

The first five chapters traverse a field covered long ago by great scholars like Prof. Rapson, R. G. Bhandarkar and Bhagwanlal Indraji and unruffled by startling discoveries. This has saved me from pioneering work; but I have had the difficult task of challenging great names and accepted conclusions. An independent study of inscriptions and monuments *in situ* has necessitated my doing so in some cases. Palaeography and the discovery of a few coins like the Āpilaka coin and the silver coin of Vāsīthiputa Satakaṇi have enabled me to reconstruct Āndhra and Kṣatrapa chronology on less insecure foundations and question Rapson's identification of Paḷumāvi with the son-in-law of Rudradāman. The much neglected social, economic and cultural conditions of the period, upon which a flood of light is thrown by inscriptions and Buddhist remains, have been dealt with at length. One of the conclusions which should not be lost sight of is that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras but began their political career in Western Deccan.

The second period in Āndhra history beginning with the Ikṣvākus, one of many short-lived dynasties, is a comparatively unexplored field. The evidence is also scanty. I have built up the chronological scheme with the help of palaeography. A fuller chapter on the Ikṣvākus than anything written before, the date of the Br̥hatphalāyanas, Kāndara and Vaingeyaka genealogy and chronology are some of the contributions to the subject. D. C. Sircar's monograph on *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Eastern Deccan* was published while I was writing my thesis. I am

indebted to him only for the Viṣṇukunḍin genealogy, but even here I have modified his conclusions with the help of palaeography.

The Akola hoard of Sātavāhana coins discovered in 1939 does not necessitate a modification or abandonment of the conclusions reached in the thesis.

Some of the epigraphical notes in the thesis have been published in Vol. XXIV No. 6 of *Epigraphia Indica*.

My task of reading the Allūru inscription has been greatly facilitated by the article of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari waiting for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The manuscript was with me when I was reading the inscription. Readings like 'ailasa' and 'vadālābhikaro', to mention only a few and the translations of a few words I owe to the article. I am indebted to Prof. V. V. Mirashi of Nagpur for promptly supplying me a copy of the photograph of the coins of the Akola hoard mentioned above as also his readings.

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has more than guided me in my work. Discussions with him have led me to new lines of approach and new conclusions. Apart from specific suggestions, I owe to him in no small measure the habit of minute attention to details and of exactitude.

K. G.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EI	: Epigraphia Indica
EC	: Epigraphia Carnatica
IA	: Indian Antiquary
JA	: Journal Asiatique
ASWI	: Archaeological Survey of Western India
ASSI	: Archaeological Survey of Southern India
CTI	: Cave Temples of Western India—Burgess and Indrajī
JRAS	: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JBBRAS	: Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JBORS	: Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JASB	: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
YB of the AS of B	: Year-Book of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
CAI	: Coins of Ancient India, Cunningham
CSI	: Coins of Southern India, Elliot
ZDMG	: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft
CIC	: Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum
ARE	: Annual Report on Epigraphy (Madras)
ASR	: Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
BG	: Bombay Gazetteer
ABRI	: Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute
SBE	: Sacred Books of the East
ABIA	: Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology
M. BH	: Mahabharata
IHQ	: Indian Historical Quarterly
TSW	: Tree and Serpent Worship
AGI	: Ancient Geography of India, Cunningham
GOS	: Gaekwad's Oriental Series
Mt	: Matsya
Vā	: Vayu
Bd	: Brahmandā
Vis	: Visṇu
CII	: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
ERE	: Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Hastings
JOR	: Journal of Oriental Research
GI	: Gupta Inscriptions

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The following pages represent an attempt to trace the fortunes, political, social and religious, of the Āndhras, a people whose hoary antiquity is attested by pieces of evidence, literary, epigraphic and numismatic. The period covered is that from the earliest times to the advent of the Eastern Cālukyas. Politically, socially and culturally the Dravidian Āndhras (condemned sons of Viśvāmitra) proved a tremendous success. Once their empire extended from sea to sea. The Amarāvati art is the most eloquent testimony to the cultural achievements of the race. The activities, maritime and colonial, of the people read like romance. No ancient tribe has on record such a unique achievement in all branches.

Āndhras as a people are mentioned as early as the fifth century B.C. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of them as the exiled sons of Viśvāmitra, as non-Aryans evidently.¹ The *Jātakas* speak of an *Andhakapūra* and Āndhra country.² The inscriptions of Asoka mention Āndhras along with Pulindas as border peoples.³ The *Saptaśatakam* speaks of Pulindas.⁴ The *Mahabhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* speak of Āndhras along with Cōlas, Ceras and Pāṇḍyas.⁵ The *Purāṇas* speak of the *Āndhrajātiyas*.⁶ They enjoyed the same political status as Kāmbojas, Yavanas, and Gāndhāras in the north. It will thus be seen that the earliest references to the Āndhra are to people or tribe and not to their country. The reference to their country occurs first in the Mayidavōlu inscription of Śiva-Skandavarman (4th century) in which Dhamśākātaka is spoken of as the headquarters of the Pallava province *Āndhāpatha* (*Āndhrāpatha*). It is therefore clear that the country derived its name from the people, an instance with many parallels in Indian History. The

1. VII, 8.

2. The *Jātakas*, Cowell and Thomas,
Āndhra Country, I, No. 80, p. 203.
Āndhra city, *ibid.*, I, 12.
Andhakas, *ibid.*, V, pp. 10 and 138.

3. RE, XIII.

4. Weber, *Das Saptaśatakam des Hāla*.

5. M. Bh., *Saṁhāsa-purāṇa*, XXXI; *Rāmāyaṇa*, iv, 41.

6. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*.

name *Āndhradeśa* found in literature is also evidence in the same direction. In the 5th and 6th centuries, the Pallava province conquered from the Vaiṅgeyakas, came to be called *Veṅgorāṣṭra*.⁷ It is very probable that during the Vaiṅgeyaka period *Āndhradeśa* got the name *Veṅgideśa*, or *Vengiāḍu*, or *Veṅgimaṇḍalam* by which it was commonly known during the period of the Eastern Cālukyas. The Āndhras are spoken of as *Vaḍagar* (Tamil), and their country *Vaḍagavaḷi* (northerners and the country of the northerners). But the name Āndhra lived through all these changes. Āndhra people are spoken of in the Chezarla inscription of Kandara's grandson. The inscriptions of the Maukhari kings Iśvaravarman and Iśānavarman speak of *Āndhrādhipati*.⁸ An inscription of the Vākāṭaka king Harisena speaks of his conquest of the Kalinga and Āndhra countries.⁹ An inscription of the 14th century speaks of the *Āndhradeśa*.

To-day, *Āndhradeśa* is a linguistic and cultural unity. It may be noted, that from the earliest times the Āndhras were an entity, ethnical and cultural. Megasthenes says that the Āndhras were a separate race.¹⁰ The Bhaṭṭiprōlu alphabet, the Veṅgī alphabet as Burnell would call it, and the Telugu-Canarese script were evolved in the *Āndhradeśa*. And the Kṛṣṇā Prākṛt of our period, of which we know something, has peculiarities which we do not find elsewhere.¹¹ To-day the Āndhras speak Telugu and during the Middle Ages their country was known as Teliṅgāṇa.

The extent of the *Āndhradeśa* of our period is not however easy of determination. As Asoka's inscriptions speak of the Āndhras and the Kalinga country, and as under Khāravela Kalinga was a first-rate power, the *Āndhradeśa* of our study was in the north limited by Kalinga. Since Ptolemy's *Maisōla* and *Periplus*' *Masalia* refer to the Āndhra country, the remark that *Masalia* extended far into the interior, shows that not only the seaboard between the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, but also a considerable area in the interior was included in the *Āndhradeśa*. In the south, *Āndhradeśa* did not extend far beyond the northern part of the modern Nellore District. For the Mayidavōlu *Āndhāpatha*

7. Māṅgalūr grant, IA. Vol. V.

8. CH, Vol. III, 6, 236.

Haraha Inscription, EI., XIV, 120.

9. JRAS, 1914, p. 137.

10. IA, Vol. VI, p. 339.

11. See Chap. II.

which refers to the region around Dharmākatāka was limited by Karmarāṣṭra.¹² No doubt under the Sātavāhanas the Āndhra Empire extended from sea to sea, and from the Central Provinces in the north to Cuddalore in the south and Mysore in the south-west.¹³ An inscription of Caḍa Sāti is found in Koḍavali near Piṭhāpuram; and some of the dynasties that succeeded the Sātavāhanas would seem to have annexed parts of Kālīṅga if only for a time. In the Śrīraṅgam plates dated A.D. 1358¹⁴ it is said that the Tiliṅga country is bounded in the north by Kanyākubja, on the west by Mahārāṣṭra, on the east by Kālīṅga, on the south by Pāṇḍyaka. The description of the *Āndhradeśa* is certainly reminiscent of the old empire of the Sātavāhanas. But the *Āndhradeśa* of our period is clearly only the territory bounded on the north by Kālīṅga, on the south by the southern part of the Nellore Dt., and extending from the coast far into the mainland in the west.



12. Chapter on Kings of the Bṛhatphalāyana gotra.

13. Coins of Puṣumāvi II bearing the device of ship with masts are found on the Coromandel Coast as far south as Cuddalore.

14. *Paideṣṭ puruṣatādapi yasya deśau Khyḍṭau Mahārāṣṭra-Kālīṅga-Samjānu* |

Avāḡudak Pāṇḍyaka-Kanyakubja deśas sa tatṛdeṣi Tiliṅganāmd ||

—EI., Vol. XIV, p. 90.

CHAPTER II

ORIGINS OF ŚĀTAVĀHANA POWER

Materials for a study of Śātavāhana history

It is some decades since some Prākṛt inscriptions in Brāhmī characters of a line of kings called Śātavāhānas in lithic records and in literature, and Āndhras (*Āndhrajātiyaḥ*) in the Purāṇic genealogies, were discovered. The first publication of their western inscriptions goes back to volume VII of the J.B.B.R.A.S. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar was the first to translate them in his 'Notices' published in the Transactions of the London Congress of Orientalists (1874) pp. 306 ff. Bühler¹ and Bhagvanlal Indraji² improved upon Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's readings and interpretations; in 1906 the French savant, Emile Senart, gave not merely a modest gloss in the wake of his predecessors' learned interpretations but a scholarly edition of the inscriptions.³ The five short but important Śātavāhana records from the eastern Deccan have been edited by Bühler,⁴ Burgess,⁵ Sten Konow⁶ and Sukthankar⁷. Thanks to exceptionally skilled numismatists like General Cunningham, F. W. Thomas, Prof. Rapson, Bhagvanlal Indraji and the Rev. H. R. Scott, we have as much information as could be extracted from the Śātavāhana and Kṣatrapa coins. The Purāṇic material has been carefully studied and diligently collected by F. E. Pargiter in his "Dynasties of the Kali Age", though his conclusions on the history of Purāṇa literature have been questioned often.

Still it is true to say that the historian's task is made difficult by the paucity of material. A great part of the Śātavāhana dominions remains unexplored. Recently the archaeological department of Hyderabad have begun excavations at Paithān. Only a hoard of Śātavāhana coins has come to light so far. Twenty-four

1. ASWI, Vols. IV and V.

2. BG, Vol. XVI.

3. EI, Vols. VII and VIII.

4. EI, Vol. I, pp. 95, 96.

5. ASSI, Vol. I, pp. 61, 100.

6. ZDMG, Vol. LXII, p. 592.

7. EI, Vol. XIV, pp. 153-55.

inscriptions (some of which are very short) for a line of 30 kings, who held sway over the greater part of the peninsula for more than three hundred years, are a disappointing number. A long historical night envelops kings Nos. 4 to 22⁸ in the Purāṇic list. Prior to the discovery of the Jogalthembi hoard, we had no coins which could with certainty be attributed to Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi. The Purāṇas do not tell us much. Neither does the *Bṛhatkathā* which, according to tradition, was written in the court of a Sātavāhana king, nor the *Saptaśatakam*, an anthology of erotic verses attributed to Hāla (Sātakaṇi), nor even *Līlāvatī*, a Prākṛit work,⁹ the theme of which is the military transactions of Hāla's reign, offer many peep-holes into the dark period. In short, the historian has still to call to aid his imagination to forge some of the missing links. His enterprise even now is not unlike that of adding piece by piece to the ends of the two arms of a cantilever bridge intended to meet at the centre; the ends of the two structures are still, for all we know, facing each other in the air. Until they have met and been firmly and finally riveted they cannot offer a safe passage.

The old theory

Scholars who were assiduously collecting every scrap of information on the Sātavāhana period found that the names gleaned from inscriptions and coins as well as their order agreed with those in the Purāṇic genealogies; and they straightaway identified the Sātavāhanas of the epigraphic and numismatic records with the Āndhras of the Purāṇas. The home of the Āndhras was the next question to be tackled. The early references¹⁰ to the Āndhras and their country enabled them to fix the habitat of this people in the country, the heart of which roughly comprised the present Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā and Guṇṭūr districts. Scholars like Prof. Rapson, V. A. Smith and Dr. Bhandarkar found no difficulty in building on these postulates the theory of an eastern origin of Sātavāhana power, i.e., in the *Andhradeśa*;¹¹ while V. A. Smith located the Sātavāhana capital at Śrī-Kākūlam, Dr. Bhandarkar saw it in Dharmakāṭaka.¹²

8. Recently, however, a copper coin of siva Siri-Āpīlaka No. 8 in the Matsya list has been discovered in the Central Provinces.

9. Recently brought to light by Mr. M. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi, *Bhārati* Vol. III, Part I, pp. 3 ff.

10. *Vide supra*.

11. ZDMG, 1902 p. 657; CIC, *Andhras, and Western Kuntapas, etc.*, xvi and xvii.

12. *Vide infra*.

Epigraphic, numismatic and literary evidence against it

A careful revaluation of the materials, epigraphic, numismatic and literary, would throw in high relief the objections to the orthodox theory of the expansion of Sātavāhana power from the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī valleys to western Deccan. It is of course hard to break the cake of old theories. Except for a dissentient note here and there¹³ nothing was done to disprove the old theory till the year 1922 when Sukthankar took up the question.¹⁴ His spirited attack on the old theory, only marred by an erroneous theory of the original habitat of the Sātavāhanas and the absence of a sound constructive side, does not seem to have gained the approval of later writers.

An inscription over a *relievo* figure, mentioning the founder of the dynasty (Rāya Simuka), an inscription of the reign of Kanha (Kṛṣṇa), his brother, and an inscription of queen Nāyanikā, the widow of Siri-Sātakaṇi, son of Simuka, come from Nāneghāt and Nāsik in the western Deccan. The Amarāvatī Stūpa has yielded many inscriptions some of which, on palaeographical grounds, can be ascribed to the 3rd century B.C.,¹⁵ some others to the 2nd or 1st century B.C.,¹⁶ and still others to the 1st century A.D.¹⁷ The silence of these inscriptions about not only Simuka, Kanha and Siri-Sātakaṇi I, but also other early Sātavāhanas, put by the side of the mention of two Sātavāhana kings of the 2nd century A.D. in two inscriptions,¹⁸ tells its own simple story. One would expect the long record of queen Nāyanikā recording the numerous sacrifices performed during the minority of her son to be very near the capital and not in a place on the farthest limits of the empire, which would be the case if the theory of an eastern capital is correct. It may be noted that Nāneghāt is only 120 miles, as the crow flies, from Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital according to tradition, of the early Sātavāhanas.¹⁹ The Bhāṭṭi-

13. IA, 1913, pp. 281 ff.

14. ABORI, II, pp. 21 ff.

15. EI, Vol. XV, *Some Unpublished Amarāvatī Inscriptions*, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, 10 and 19; and ASSI, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 101.

16. EI, Vol. XV, *ibid.*, 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18.

17. *Ibid.*, Nos. 25, 29, 33, 36, 40, 42, 43 and 44.

18. ASSI, Vol. I, p. 100, No. 1 and p. 61, No. 2.

19. Nāneghāt (Ghātghar) is a pass in the Western Ghats which was in the direct line of communication from inland market-towns like Pratiṣṭhāna and Tagara to the western ports like Kalyāṇ, Barygaza, etc.

prôlu inscriptions, 'probably only a few decades later than Asoka's edicts', mention a king Khubirako and his father Śa—²⁰ *Āndhradeśa* would, therefore, seem to have been ruled by a different line in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. A coin from the *Āndhradeśa* bearing the legends (— — —) B (i) ra or (— — —) Vira is corroborative evidence pointing in the same direction.²¹ True, inscriptions of kings Nos. 4 to 22 are not found either in the western Deccan or in the *Āndhradeśa*. Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi's three inscriptions come from Nāsik and Kārlā. The Nāsik record of Gotamī Balasiri recounting her son's political achievements, and describing his empire, makes no reference to the *Āndhradeśa*.²² Only records engraved during the reigns of Vāsīṭṭiputa sāmi Siri-Puṣumāvi, son of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, and some of his successors, i.e., during the latter half of the second century and the first quarter of the third century A.D., come from the *Āndhradeśa* and Kāliṅga. Of the 24 records of these kings, 8 come from Nāsik, 5 from Kaphēri, three from Kārlā, one from Bhilsā, two from Nāpēghāt (besides there are 5 short ones over relief figures), one from Myākadoni, one from Cinna Gaṇjam, two from Amarāvati and one from Koḍavali.²³

The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kāliṅga²⁴ and a contemporary of the third or fifth king in the Sātavāhana line, throws some welcome light on the question. In the inscription Khāravela is said to have destroyed the city of Pithumḍa in the eleventh year.²⁵ In the next line an expedition against the kings of Uttarāpatha in the twelfth year is spoken of. We must, therefore, look for the city elsewhere than in the North. The East is likewise excluded for the sea lies on that side. Since the destruction of Pithumḍa and the breaking up of 'the confederacy of the T(r) amira (Damira or Tamil) countries of 113 years' are spoken of in the same breath and achieved in the same year, the South has greater claims than the West. Sylvain Lévi has shown that the

20. EI, Vol. II, p. 328, vi; p. 329 ix.

21. *Vide infra*.

22. Scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar have made attempts to identify some mountains and countries mentioned in that record with those in the eastern Deccan. Prof. Rapson is of opinion that the record only mentions Gotamīputa's conquests. For a discussion of these views, *vide infra*.

23. Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 346, 987, 994, 1001, 1002, 1024, 1105, 1106, 1110, 1112, 1122 to 1126, 1141, 1146 and 1147.

24. EI, Vol. XX, pp. 71-89.

25. Pithumḍam gadabha nāṅgulena kāśyati, *ibid.*, p. 79, l. 1. 11.

Pitundra of Ptolemy is a Greek transliteration of the Indian Pithunḍa. He says :—" Ptolemy places Pitundra in the hinterland, between the mouths of the Maisôlos and the Manadas, or in other words, between the deltas of the Godāvāri and Mahānadi, at an equal distance from both. We must, therefore, look for the site of the city between Chicacole and Kalingapatam, if Ptolemy's information approximates to the truth."²⁶ We cannot very much rely on Ptolemy's information here, as he has erred in placing to the south-east of the mouth of the Maisôlos a great peninsula which, however, existed only in his imagination.²⁷ We have, moreover, to say with Yule that Maisôlos is the Kṛṣṇā and not the Godāvāri as Lassen and Sylvain Lévi would have it. Ptolemy places a Kantakossula near (latitude 134°30' longitude 11°40') and a Koddūra not far away from (latitude 135° longitude 11°30') the mouth of the Maisôlos (latitude 134° longitude 11°40').²⁸ Koddūra has been identified with the modern Gūḍūr in the Bandar taluq of the Kṛṣṇā district.²⁹ Kantakossula is the Kaṇṭakasila of a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription of the time of the Ikṣvāku Virapurisadata,³⁰ and Koddūra is the Kūdūra of an Amarāvaṭī inscription of the second century A.D.³¹ They were, therefore, nearer to the Kṛṣṇā than to the Godāvāri. It is possible to get a better clue. Ptolemy places Koroungkala (identified with the modern Warangal) in longitude 15° and more in the interior than Pitundra. Warangal is placed 3°20' degrees and Pitundra ¾th of a degree north of the mouth of the Maisôlos (11°40').³² Warangal is in the Godāvāri-Kṛṣṇā region (south of the Godāvāri). Pitundra has, therefore, to be sought for in the Andhradeśa and not in Khāravela's Kalinga. The reference to the destruction of Pithunḍa along with the reference to the breaking up of the confederacy of Tamil powers is corroborative evidence in the same direction.³³ In such a case the destruction of Pithunḍa (probably then, as in Ptolemy's days, the metro-

26. IA, LV, pp. 146-47.

27. Map appended to McCrindle's translation of *Ptolemy's Geography*, IA, Vol. XIII, facing p. 353.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 333 (*Ptolemy's Geography*, Book VII, Chap. 1, Sec. 15).

29. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 85.

30. EI, XX, p. 22, Ins., F. t.1.3.

31. Lüders, *op. cit.*, No. 1296.

32. *Op. cit.*, Bk. VII, Sec. 23.

33. The fact that the destruction of this city is spoken of along with his wars with the northern and southern powers makes it least probable that the city was within the kingdom of Kalinga.

polis of the Āndhra country)³⁴ by Khāravela would have evoked immediate and tremendous hostilities (or would have been a result of such hostilities) between him and his Sātavāhana contemporary, if really the early Sātavāhanas had been ruling over the *Andhradeśa*.³⁵ If such a conflict with 'the Lord of the Deccan' had taken place, Khāravela would not have failed to make mention of it in an inscription which speaks of his wars with the northern kings, southern confederacies and western powers. The silence of the Hāthīgumphā inscription on this matter is, therefore, conclusive proof that the early Sātavāhanas were not ruling over the land of their birth in the third and second centuries B.C.

The association of the early Sātavāhanas with the *Mahārāṭhis*, a class of officers who are mentioned in the western cave inscriptions only, is another piece of evidence that supports our conclusion. Queen Nāyanikā, wife of Śiri-Sātakani the third king of the dynasty, is the daughter of the *Mahārāṭhi* Tranakayiro of the Aṅgiya family.

Numismatics tells the same story. The earliest known coins of the dynasty are two pieces, one of copper and the other of lead, bearing the legend 'Śiri-Sātasa.' Considering the angular *ta*, the absence of the *mātrā* over *ra* and the early form of *sa*, Rapson attributes these coins to Śiri-Sātakani of the Nānaghāt inscriptions.³⁶ But the nailed heads of the *sa* of the copper coin make its attribution to a later king, perhaps No. 5 in the Matsya list, reasonable.³⁷ These coins were picked up in western India with which they are connected by their Malwa fabric, i.e., the Ujjain symbol, the standing man, the representation of a river with fishes swimming in it, which reminds us of the representation of

34. In line 11 (EI, Vol. XX, p. 79) K. P. Jayaswal reads 'ava rāja niraśtam Pithumḍam' for 'pura rāja etc.,' his earlier reading. (Pithumḍa built by a former king). While the upper and lower limbs of the usual *a* of the inscription are not connected with each other, in the letter read as *a*, they are connected with each other even if the crease on the stone can be taken to represent the lower curve. The curve taken as the upper limb is usually big. The letter may, therefore, be more correctly read as *pu*.

35. It is also highly improbable that the *Andhradeśa* escaped the widely thrown net of Khāravela's expeditions.

36. CIC, *Andhras and Western Kāśtrapas*, &c., p. 1.

37. The copper coin differs from the lead coin also in the representation of a man standing.

river Biṇa on the coins of Erān.³⁸ From western India came 8 coins bearing the legends (partly or fully) 'Raño Sātakaṇiṣa.' The alphabetical characters of the legends seem to be later than those of the Sāta coins, but the elongated instead of the squat and rounded form of ta on all the three coins, makes a very long interval impossible.

Prof. Rapson brings into the list of early Sātavāhana coins, three coins coming from the *Andhradeśa*; according to him two of them bear the legends '(Ra) ño (— —) Vira' and one, the legend [(gha)] Sadasa.³⁹ The former are exceptionally large *siṃha* coins "found in a deserted site at the village of Chittala, in the Yernagudem Talook of the Godāvari District."⁴⁰ V. A. Smith attributed them provisionally to Siri-Yaṇa Sātakaṇi (second century A.D.).⁴¹ True, the incomplete and indistinct nature of the legends makes it impossible for us to rely on their palaeography for their date, but according to Rapson, their early date seems to be indicated by the fact that they are struck on one side only. We do not possess *siṃha* coins of Siri-Yaṇa.⁴² It is doubtful whether these coins were issued by any member of the Sātavāhana dynasty. We have come across neither Sātavāhana names ending in 'vira' or 'bira,' nor such unusually big Sātavāhana coins. The letter read as vi may well be read as b(i) or b(e). 'Vira' or 'bira' strongly reminds us of king Khubiraka of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions.⁴³ Significantly enough he is there called the head of the *Siṃha* group (*Siṃhagoṭhiyā pāmukha*). On the coins the term 'raño' comes after the personal name. It does not do so on other coins while in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions 'rājā' comes after Khubirako.⁴⁴ The striker of these coins might presumably have belonged to this line of kings of the *Andhradeśa*. But the distance between Bhaṭṭi-

38. Cunningham, CAI, p. 100.

39. Op. cit., pp. 2, 28.

40. Sir Walter Elliot, CSI, p. 23 n.

41. ZDMG, 1903, p. 625.

42. On the other hand, Lion coins of Vāsīṭhiputa sāmī Siri-Pulamāvi and Māgharīputa Sakasena, have been picked up in the *Andhradeśa*. A small signet of lapis lazuli discovered among the Buddhist remains of Amarāvati has on it the representation of a lion with open mouth and raised left fore-leg together with the legend 'bhūtiśa' written in Brāhmī characters of the 3rd century B.C. The lion would, therefore, seem to have been of Buddhist origin.—ASR, 1905-06, p. 166.

43. EI, Vol. II, pp. 328, vi; 329, ix.

44. Op. cit.

prôlu and the findspot of the coin casts some doubt on this identification.

On the strength of the early form of *da* and the incomplete legend read as [(gha)] *Sadasa*, Rapson attributes the third coin to Meghasvāti (Megha Sātakaṇi), ninth in the Matsya list (2nd or 1st century B.C.).⁴⁵ As the coin contains neither the full legends nor the upper part of the first letter, we cannot be quite sure of Prof. Rapson's reading. The letter read as *gha* by Rapson might very well be read as *na*; what appears as a vertical to the proper right is a scratch (compared to the central vertical), and does not start from the end of the horizontal. We might reconstruct the legend thus: (Ra)n(o) *Sadasa*.⁴⁶ In inscriptions *Sada* alternates with *Sāta*; and *Sāta*, *Sāti* and *Saḍa* (?) are abbreviations of *Sātakaṇi* (the Sanskrit form corresponding to it is *Sātakaṇi*). The striker of this coin might therefore have been any one of the numerous *Sātakaṇis* in the Purāṇic list. So far as epigraphical evidence alone is concerned, the coin may be ascribed to a period as late as the first century A.D., for *da* open to the left occurs in some of the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and some epigraphs from Amarāvati which, on palaeographical considerations, have been assigned to the first century B.C. or A.D.⁴⁷

It will do well to bear in mind the remark of Bühler that "the contemporaneous employment of more advanced types and of more archaic ones will have to be explained..... by a desire to select archaic and monumental forms for epigraphic purposes and a failure to completely carry out this intention."⁴⁸ The type is not that of a horse as Rapson would describe it in the Catalogue,⁴⁹ but that of a bull whose hump and horns are visible. Coins of the bull type tentatively attributed by Rapson to the Sātavāhana dynasty, come from western India, especially from

45. According to V. A. Smith, *Saṅgha* is No. 9 and *Meghasvāti* No. 16 in the Matsya list (ZDMG, 1902, p. 619). The coin would seem to belong to an early period in the history of the dynasty since the form of the *akṣara da* is that found in the Nānaghāt inscription and in the Nāsik inscription of Kṛṣṇa Rāja: "So far as the evidence from epigraphy is concerned, this coin might well be assigned to the first or second century B.C." Rapson, *op. cit.*, lxxvii.

46. In the Nānaghāt inscription of Catrapana Sātakaṇi we have *raṇo* for *raṇo*. Lüders *op. cit.*, No. 1120.

47. Nos. 36, 37, 38 and 49 in EI, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 272.

48. IA. xxxiii, Appendix, Ind. Palae. p. 43.

49. *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

Ujjain and Erān.⁵⁰ The Sada coin is a square piece bearing the impress of a round die. Cunningham notes that some square coins with impressions made from round dies come from Ujjain and Erān.⁵¹ It is hazardous to conclude on the provenance of a single coin that the early Sātavāhanas ruled over the *Āndhradeśa*. It is very probable that a coin of a Sātavāhana king of the first century B.C. or A.D. found its way from his dominions in the western Decan into the *Āndhradeśa* in the wake of commerce.

The next group of coins found in the *Āndhradeśa* belong to Saka Sada (Saḍa?);⁵² the name is an abbreviated and corrupted form of Sakasena Sātakaṇi. Sometimes in the inscriptions, for want of space or other reasons, titles and names are shortened.⁵³ Metonymics appear on some coins whilst in others of the same kings they do not.⁵⁴ So Sakasena Sātakaṇi can be identified with Māḍharīputa Sakasena Sātakaṇi of the Kaṇhēri inscriptions.⁵⁵ As the *Āndhradeśa* is not mentioned in the long record of Gotamī Balasiri⁵⁶ and as no coin or inscription of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi has been found in the *Āndhradeśa*, it is highly improbable that Māḍharīputa Sakasena preceded the former as Rapson would have it.⁵⁷ Dr. Bhandarkar would place Māḍharīputa Sakasena late in the Sātavāhana series.⁵⁸ Rapson remarks:—"In the inscription (of Māḍharīputa Sakasena).....the later form seems to

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-56.

51. *Op. cit.*, pp. 99, 100.

52. At Gudivāda and Amarāvati; Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12.

53. Some coins of Nahapāna (JEBRAS, XXIII, pp. 13 ff.), coins of Caḍa Sātakaṇi and the lead coins attributed to Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Nāneghāt inscriptions are instances.

54. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21, 30-33, 38-42.

55. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji identified him with siva Siri-Sātakaṇi, successor of Puṣumāvi. He was probably led to it by his reading Sirisena for Sakasena. This reading is incorrect. (JEBRAS, VII, p. 407). Rapson remarks that (*op. cit.*, Intro. lxxv) for Śaka-Sāta "no identification with a similar name occurring on other coins or in inscriptions (of the Sātavāhanas) can be suggested." If Prof. Rapson and Dr. Bhandarkar (EHD, 3rd ed. p. 61) have embarked on an ocean of conjectures and doubtfully identified Saka Sada of the coins with Māḍharīputa Sakasena of the Kaṇhēri inscriptions or tried to read the third letter as na (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 11, No. 38), it is because they did not look upon Saka Sada as an abbreviated form.

56. *Vide infra*.

57. *Op. cit.*, Intro. xxviii.

58. After 202 A.D., EHD, 3rd ed. p. 61.

occur in the name while the earlier form is seen in other words." It will be shown below that the alphabet of these inscriptions resembles that of a Kaphēri inscription of Siri-Yañā.⁵⁹ Moreover, the rather peculiar name Sakasena reminds us of the matrimonial alliance contracted with the Śakas by a successor of Vāsīthīputa sāmi Siri-Pujumāvi. Names ending in *senā* are borne by the Western Kṣatrapas of the line of Caṣṭana.⁶⁰ We might not, therefore, be grudged the conjecture that the peculiar name is a result of that matrimonial alliance.⁶¹ Finally even according to Rapson's assumption, the earliest king who ruled over the *Āndhradēśa* on numismatic evidence would be No. 21 in the Sātavāhana series!

While discussing the inscriptions on the reverse of three coins of Siri-Yañā from Aparānta, Kathiawar and Baroda, Rapson remarks that the reverse inscription is substantially the same as the obverse inscription, but in a different dialect and written in a variety of the Brāhmi alphabet which has not been found elsewhere and which approaches most nearly to that of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions. "It seems reasonable to suppose, then," he concludes, "that the two varieties of alphabet used in the Kistna District were associated with the use of two different dialects (1) the 'Leṇapṛākṛt' of Prof. Pischel, and (2) a local Pṛākṛt, perhaps containing Dravidian elements, peculiar to the Kistna District. Traces of this latter dialect are probably to be seen in certain Andhra names, such as *Haku*=Śakti; *Hāla*=Sāta, &c.; and its occurrence like that of the alphabet associated with it, on coins of Śri-Yañā struck in Western India must, no doubt, be regarded as a reminiscence of the old home of the race in the Telugu country,".⁶² So far as the alphabetical peculiarities are concerned, it seems that we now have a nearer analogy than the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions, to the characters on the Siri-Yañā coins. And this analogy is furnished by the inscription on the coin of (Hi)ru Hātakaṇi found in Sopāra and now to be seen in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. And this coin is clearly modelled on Kṣatrapa coinage. The peculiarities exhibited in individual letters like *ka* and *sa* by these coins would thus appear to be a develop-

59. ASWI, V, No. 15.

60. The Bhaṭṭiprōlu *sa* has its tail turned to the left and not to the right as on the coins of Siri-Yañā and Vāsīthīputa Sātakaṇi; the *ka* of the coins bears very little resemblance to the Bhaṭṭiprōlu *ka*.

61. A predecessor of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi bears in the Purāṇic lists a name with *-senā* ending: Purīndrasena.

62. *Op. cit.*, Intro. xc, xci.

ment that took place in western India, a development which does not seem to stand in any necessary or direct relation to the Bhaṭṭiprōlu alphabet. The dialectical peculiarities exhibited by the legends of Siri-Yaśa's coins are the use of *ha* for *sa*, and *ṣa* for final *sa*. The Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions do not offer us a single instance of the use of *ha* for *sa*. We cannot, therefore, be sure that we have in names like Haku, Hāla (the names of early Sātavāhanas) and Hiru-Hātakaṇi, traces of a dialect peculiar to the Kṛṣṇā district. True in the use of *ṣa* for final *sa*, we seem to have a trace of the Kṛṣṇā dialect, but this occurs only on the coins of Hiru-Hātakaṇi and Siri-Yaśa (second century A.D.) and not earlier. Considering the distance in time and space between Bhaṭṭiprōlu and the Yaśa coins, and the parallels we find for all other features shown by these coins in those of the Kṣatrapas, we may hesitate to accept the view that the use of *ṣa* for final *sa* is derived from the influence, direct or remote, of an eastern dialect. I am not at present able to offer an explanation of this feature.

Andhradeśa is rich in stūpas some of which date back to the third and second century B.C., i.e., the Bhaṭṭiprōlu and Amarāvati Stūpas;⁶³ it is really strange that these stūpas should not have contained coins of the early Sātavāhana kings whilst some of the later stūpas, or old stūpas which were decorated and enlarged in the second century A.D.,⁶⁴ should have yielded us numerous coins of Vāsīṭhīputa sāmi Siri-Puṣumāvi and his successors, i.e., siva Siri-Sātakaṇi, Caḍa Sātakaṇi, Rudra Sātakaṇi, Siri-Yaśa Sātakaṇi and Kaḥa Sātakaṇi.⁶⁵

The most characteristic titles of the Andhra kings are the metronymics. Metronymics seem to have been purely local. Golīputa, Gāgīputa and Vāsīṭhīputa (borne by a royal artisan) occur in the Sāñci, Barhut and Bhilsā (Malwa) stūpa inscriptions of the second century B.C.⁶⁶ In the Pitalkhōrā cave inscriptions of the second century B.C. the royal physician Magila bears the title Vachīputa (Vātsīputra).⁶⁷ Metronymics like those borne by the Sātavāhanas are borne by their feudatories and officers in their inscriptions in the western Deccan.⁶⁸ In the

63. *Et*, II, p. 325.

64. Rapson, *op. cit.*, lxxi.

65. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-52.

66. Lüders, *op. cit.*, Nos. 680, 687 and 348.

67. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1189, 1191-93.

68. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1088, 1190 and 1146.

numerous inscriptions in the *Āndhradeśa* metronymics occur only in three inscriptions of the second century A.D.⁶⁹ In the *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* inscriptions the Ikṣvākus and the high dignitaries of state under them, like the *Mahātala-varas* and *Mahāsēnāpatīs*, bear metronymics derived from Vedic *gotras*. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the *Sātavāhanas* had nothing to do with the *Āndhradeśa* at first and that the practice of coupling metronymics with personal names became common there after the *Sātavāhanas* had overrun it; that the practice was not native to the soil is shown by the fact that the successors of the *Sātavāhanas* in the *Āndhradeśa*, i.e., the kings of the *Brhatphalāyana gotra*, the *Vaiṅgeyakas*, the *Kandaras* and the *Viṣṇukunḍins*, do not assume metronymics.

Many personal names, like alphabets and dialects, are local.⁷⁰ The queen of the third king of the dynasty bears a name ending in 'anika' (*anika*),⁷¹ and names ending in 'anaka' and 'anika' (fem) occur frequently in the western cave inscriptions. The earliest known inscription in the eastern Deccan to mention a name with such an ending is the *Amarāvati* inscription dated in the regnal years of *Vāsīṭhīputa* sami *Siri-Puṣumāvi*, the first inscription on this side of South India to mention a *Sātavāhana* king. Such names occur frequently in the *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* inscriptions. Names resembling 'Vedisiri' and 'Bhāya...' of the *Nāgēghāt* inscriptions occur in the *Kuṭā* and *Mahād* cave inscriptions;⁷² a name beginning in *Bhaya* (*Bhayabhūti*) occurs in an unpublished *Kārlā* inscription. 'Skanda' which enters into the composition of the names of some of the early *Sātavāhanas* occurs in the *Kuṭā*, *Kārlā* and *Nāsik* inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.D. and in the eastern inscriptions only after the reign of *Vāsīṭhīputa* sami *Siri-Puṣumāvi*. The *Saḍakara* of a *Kuṭā* inscription⁷³ bears a striking resemblance to the surname *Sātakaṇi* or *Sādakaṇi*.

Thus, all available epigraphic and numismatic evidence proves not only that undeniably the centre of gravity of the early *Sāta-*

69. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1248 and 1271. One of them (*Gotāḍīputa*) is quite unlike the metronymics borne by the *Sātavāhanas*, another is the metronymic borne by *Puṣumāvi*, son of *Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi*; a headless statue from the *Amarāvati* Stūpa bears the inscription 'Gōtami nama(o)'.

70. A glance at the long list of names in the *Bhattiprōlu* and the early western cave inscriptions is enough to prove the truth of this statement.

71. *Nāyanikā*.

72. *Lüders*, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1050, 1073 and 1081.

73. *Ibid.*, No. 1054.

vāhana power lay in the western Deccan, but also that the early Sātavāhanas did not rule over the *Āndhradeśa*.

Jain literature furnishes corroborative evidence in the same direction. In many versions of the *Kālakācūryakathā* including the Long Anonymous Version, the Kālaka who changed the *Paryuṣāṇa* date is said to have gone to Pratiṣṭhāna, the city of Sālivāhana⁷⁴ and 'the ornament of the land of Mahārāṣṭra.' The evidence of this work is of course of doubtful value; but it is adduced because it corroborates evidence from other sources. In Jain chronology the changing of the date is put at 993 Vira era (446 A.D.). The Sātavāhanas as a political power pass out of history in the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. It seems preferable to accept the account of *Yugapradhāna-svarūpa*⁷⁵ according to which it was Kālaka I (died Vira era 376 or 171 B.C.) who changed the date, Kālaka III coming in to confirm the change 600 years later. Then, the Sātavāhana king mentioned must have been ruling at Paithān during the first half of the second century B.C.⁷⁶

An old *gāthā* taken from the *Niyukti* (50 B.C.—150 A.D.) and cited in the commentary on the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* says that Bharukaccha is known for Paithāna Sālavāhana and Nahavāṇa.⁷⁷ Bharukaccha, the Barygaza of the *Periplus*, is modern Broach. Obviously the Nahavāṇa and Sālavāhana were contemporaries. The Sanskrit commentary on it extracted in the *Abhidhāna Rājendra*⁷⁸ makes them contemporaries. The name Nahavāṇa, corrupted into Naravāha in Jinasena's *Harivamśa Purāṇa*, is a variation of Nahapāna.⁷⁹ The only Nahapāna so far known to history, is Rājan Kṣatrapa Nahapāna of the Kṣaharāta *vaṇśa*,⁸⁰ who dispossessed his Sātavāhana contemporary of a part of Mahārāṣṭra and Aparānta. The 'Naravāhas' of the *Harivamśa Purāṇa* may imply not the existence of two or more Nahapānas, but Nahapāna and his

74. Hemacandra in his grammar gives Sālivāhana as a Prākṛt conception of Sātavāhana, 1, 8, 211; *Kālakācūryakathā*, Norman Brown: p. 1.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

76. An inscription in the Bhilsā Topes (2nd cen. B. C.) mentions a bhikkhu by name Paṭṭhāna. *Bhilsā Topes*, p. 255, No. 145.

77. JBORS, 1930, p. 290.

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 291-293.

79. For instances of the use of va for pa see Pischel's *Gram. der Prā. Spra.*, Sec. 144.

80. The Mambanes of the *Periplus*.

descendants. The old theory that dates in Uṣavadāta's (governor under Nahapāna) inscription⁸¹ and the Junnār inscription of Ayama, a minister of Nahapāna,⁸² must be referred to the Śaka era is to be abandoned in favour of the theory that they are dated either in the regnal years of Nahapāna or in an era starting from the end of the first century B.C. The capital of the Sātavāhanas in the first century A.D. would, therefore, seem to have been Paithān.

The theory of a second eastern capital of the Sātavāhanas also rests upon unsafe foundations. The only source of the assertion made by many writers that the capital of the early Sātavāhanas was Dhaññakaṭaka, is the conjecture of Dr. Bhandarkar that the compound *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* in Nasik No. 3⁸³ may be taken as *Dhanakaṭasāminehi*.⁸⁴ Obsessed by the unproven and improbable theory of the conjoint rule of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi⁸⁵ and Vāsīthīputa Siri-Puṣumāvi, and taking for granted that the donation recorded in the beginning of Nāsik No. 3 is identical with that recorded in Balasiri's inscription, Dr. Bhandarkar says⁸⁶ that Dhanakaṭasāmi [lord of Dhanakaṭa(ka)] is a title of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi and reads Benākaṭakasāmi of Nāsik No. 4 as Dhanakaṭakasāmi.⁸⁷

In his valuable paper on the Nāsik inscriptions Emile Senart has pointed out the orthographical objection to the identification of Dhanakaṭa with Dhaññakaṭaka (equivalent to or near modern Dharanikot) of the Amarāvati inscriptions. Considering the general similarity of b and dh, he would read Benākaṭa for Dhanakaṭa.⁸⁸ D. R. Bhandarkar, however, does not agree with Senart. He says:⁸⁹—“What is read as Dhanakaṭa can

81. EI, Vol. VIII, Nāsik, No. 12.

82. ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 103, No. 11.

83. Vide *infra*, EI, Vol. VIII, p. 65, t. I. 2; dated in the regnal years of Puṣumāvi.

84. EHD, p. 30, n. 13; Dhaññakaṭaka is mentioned in two Amarāvati inscriptions. (EI, Vol. XV, Nos. 4 and 5, pp. 262-63) as a market-town (*ulgrama*) only. Ptolemy mentions Pitundra (Bk. VII, Chap. I, sec. 93) and not Dhaññakaṭaka as the capital of the Maisōlia region. The earliest mention of Dhaññakaṭaka as the headquarters of a district is in the Mayidavōlu plates; also ASSI, Vol. I, No. 53, Dhaññakaṭaka.

85. JRS, 1926, pp. 644-650.

86. Op. cit., p. 30.

87. Transact. Second, Lond. Congr. Ori., p. 349.

88. Op. cit., p. 68.

89. IA, 1913, p. 290, n. 16.

also be read as *Dhannakata* (*Dhannakata*); and as, in *Nāsik* inscriptions *n* is used instead of *ñ* (compare e.g., *ānapayati* of the same *Nāsik* inscription), *Dhannakata* can very well be taken to be equivalent to *Dhañnakata*. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's view, therefore, still stands incontrovertible.⁹⁰ To draw a parallel between the change of *na* in a *Prākṛt* word into *ña* in its Sanskrit equivalent (*āñāpayati*) and the change of *ña* into *na* in different forms of a *Prākṛt* word is misleading. Moreover, the literary *Pāli* form, which occurs in the *Nāsik* inscription also, is '*ānapayati*' and not '*ānapayati*'. The instance cited by D. R. Bhandarkar is one of the use of *na* for *ña*.⁹¹ There is not one clear instance of *na* used for *ña* in *Prākṛt*. The only instance cited by Pischel is one of the change of *ña* into *cina*, (*rañā* becomes *rācina*, *rācino* and *rācini*) and this is not relevant to the point at issue.⁹² In the *Mayidavōlu* plates⁹³ edited after Pischel's *Prākṛt Grammar* was published⁹⁴ we have the word '*ana*' (*anna*) the literary *Pāli* form of which is '*añña*' and no support can be derived from this inscription for Bhandarkar's position regarding *Dhañnakata* because the *Mayidavōlu* grant comes much later and from an altogether different area.⁹⁵

Dhanakatasāmi could not have been the title of *Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani*, for neither was he reigning when *Nāsik* Nos. 2 and 3 were incised, nor are the donations recorded in the two inscriptions identical; No. 2 records a non-official grant and No. 3 an official grant.⁹⁶ Finally the reading *Dhanakatasamiyehi* must be abandoned for Bühler's and Senart's reading *Dhanakatasamanehi*. Thus the title "Lord of *Dhanakata*" is hypothetical.

V. A. Smith's and J. Burgess⁹⁶ theory that *Śrī-Kākuṣam* was the capital of the early *Sātavāhanas* is based on a passage in the *Triṅgṇuśāsanam*, translated and quoted by Campbell in his

90. We have a parallel in the *Nāneghāt* ins. of *Catarapana Sātakani* (*raṇo* for *raño*).

91. *Op. cit.*, Sec. 237, p. 157.

92. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 84-89.

93. The plates were, however, discovered a year before the book was published.

94. In *Junnar* No. 10, (*ASWI*, Vol. IV, Pl. XLIX) we have *Dhanāṅka-senya* not *Dhanikaseniya*.

95. For a detailed discussion of these points, vide *infra*.

96. *EHI*, 2nd edn. p. 194; *ASSI*, Vol. I, pp. 3-4. The way in which *Śrī-Kākuṣam* is marked on the map appended to the *Catalogue of Indian Coins* in the *British Museum* shows that Rapson favours their view.

Telugu Grammar.⁹⁷ The thick fog of legendary matter in the passage will be apparent to any reader. Āndhra Viṣṇu, son of the first Āndhra monarch Sucandra (Simuka of the second century B.C.), is said in the same work to have been a patron of the first Telugu Grammarian Kaṇva.⁹⁸ We know that Telugu was in the course of formation in the fifth century A.D., from the distinctly Telugu suffix in a Viṣṇukuṇḍin record.⁹⁹ Atharvanācārya quotes from the *Vālmiki Sūtras* on Prākṛt, and it has been shown that the *Sūtras* were composed by Trivikrama¹⁰⁰ who according to Dr. Hultsch must have lived between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries A.D.¹⁰¹ The testimony of a writer removed from the early Sātavāhanas by more centuries than we are from him should not have been made the basis of such a categorical statement.

The old theory has another weak link. The attempts of Rapson and V. A. Smith to bring the epigraphic and numismatic evidence in line with the Purāṇic testimony, have led them to postulate a rapid expansion of the Sātavāhana empire from the lower Godāvari and Kṛṣṇā valleys, as far as Nāsik before the end of Kaṇva's reign, that is to say, within 20 years.¹⁰² Yet Simuka and Kaṇva in whom the Washington and the Napoleon are combined, are mentioned in very short inscriptions only and no deed whatever of theirs is recorded. If they did in fact engage in wars of extensive conquest, the vast military operations would have necessitated large issues of coins. Not a single coin of Simuka or Kaṇva has been picked up in the western Deccan or in the *Āndhradeśa*. Not even a Candragupta Maurya could have accomplished the feat of liberating a people and building up, in such a short period, a huge and well organised empire, that withstood the shocks from the Sakas for a long period. Such a rapid expansion is not known to any period of South Indian History. Expansion from the plains over the tableland and the mountainous regions presents far greater diffi-

97. Intro. p. ii.

98. Footnote (Introduction viii) "He who speaks irreverently of my Grammar composed by the command of Andhra Vishnoo shall be considered as guilty of irreverence to his priest."

99. EI, Vol. IV, the Chikkulla plates I 28.

100. IA, XL, 219ff.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 221: "The time of Trivikrama can be settled only within rather wide limits. He quotes Hemachandra, who lived in the 12th century, and he is quoted in the *Ratsāpasa* of Kumārasvāmin, who belonged to the fifteenth or sixteenth century."

102. ZDMG, 1902, p. 637.

culties than expansion from the mountainous regions over the plains.¹⁰³ With a powerful and jealous neighbour in Kalinga, which would seem to have thrown off the Mauryan yoke along with the Sātavāhanas, a westward expansion would well nigh have been impossible. The inventive genius of the historian has not only painted the glories of Simuka and Kanha whom inscriptions and literature agree to treat in a singularly unimpressive manner, but also brought about a travesty of justice in so far as the achievements of great conquerors like Gotamiputa Sātakaṇi and some of his predecessors like Sātakaṇi I have been fathered upon dim figures in history.

True, Sātakaṇi I, the third king of the line, is called 'Dakṣiṇā-pathapati'.¹⁰⁴ But Dakṣiṇāpatha is an ambiguous term. In its widest sense it includes the whole of the Peninsula south of the Vindhya; since a passage in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* excludes the Narmadā and the Tapti valleys,¹⁰⁵ the term seems to have been used in a narrow sense, then, as now. To go to an earlier work than the *Purāṇas*, the author of the *Periplus* (first century A.D.) mentions the market-towns of the Dachinabades separately from the market-towns of Dāmīrica, mistakenly called by him Limyrike, i.e., the extreme south of the Peninsula including particularly the Cera, Cōla and Pāṇḍya countries.¹⁰⁶ The extreme south is likewise excluded. Since the *Maisōlos* of Ptolemy is most probably the Kṛṣṇā,¹⁰⁷ and since the *Maisōlia* of Ptolemy is the Masalia of the *Periplus*, Masalia would seem to be the name of the lower Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī region, i.e., the Andhradeśa. The author of the *Periplus* says that this region was studded with centres of trade and industry.¹⁰⁸ Yet all the market-towns (of which Paithān and Tagara identified with modern Junnār are the most important) of the Dachinabades mentioned in the *Periplus* are in the western Deccan.¹⁰⁹ Thus it is clear that the Dachinabades of the *Periplus* excludes the extreme east and south of the peninsula.¹¹⁰

103. Lüders, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1112 and 1114.

104. ASWI, Vol. V, p. 60, Pl. LI.

105. Chap. 45, Verse 104. Bibliotheca Indica ed.

106. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Sec. 51.

107. *Ibid. supra*.

108. Schoff, *op. cit.*, Sec. 62.

109. *Ibid.*, Sec. 51, 52, and 53.

110. Suzerainty over the whole of the Peninsula is therefore to be ruled out.

Even those who have propounded the theory of western origin of Sātavāhana power have failed to correlate properly the Purāṇic with epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Relying upon a passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* which speaks of the Āndhras as living on the fringes of Aryan civilisation,¹¹¹ Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar places the Āndhras in the Vindhyan regions.¹¹² But we do not know the exact limits of Aryan civilisation in those days. It has been proved beyond doubt that the ancient home of the Āndhras then as now was the lower valleys of the Godāvāri and the Kṛṣṇā. His theory of western origins of Sātavāhana power, not accompanied by arguments, looks like a shot in the air.

Sukthankar cuts the Gordian knot by challenging the Āndhra affinities of the Sātavāhanas.¹¹³ According to him in the whole range of epigraphic records, the Sātavāhanas are nowhere called Āndhras. The passages from Greek authors which mention the Āndhra country and people contain no reference to the Sātavāhanas while those in which certain Sātavāhana kings are mentioned have nothing to say about the Āndhras. The hopeless confusion of the Purāṇas makes their evidence worthless.¹¹⁴

All these objections would vanish if the available pieces of evidence are properly weighed. Sukthankar treats 'Āndhra-bhṛtya' as a *Tatpuruṣa* compound (Servants of the Āndhras) 'having regard to the parallel phrase *Śuṅgabhṛtya* applied to the Kanvas.' The Purāṇic words 'Āndhrajātiyaḥ' and 'Kāṇvayānāms tato bhṛtyāḥ *Susarmāyaḥ prasahya tam*' (Matsya) exclude the grammatical construction adopted by Sukthankar. The compound should, therefore, be treated as a *Karmadhāraya* one, in which case it would mean 'Āndhra Servants.' Then the Sātavāhanas could have been Āndhras and Āndhrabhṛtyas. Sātavāhana is a family or a dynastic name while Āndhra is a tribal name (*Āndhrajāti*). In an inscription we have the expression *Sātavāhana kulam*,¹¹⁵ in Prākṛt

111. *Vide supra*.

112. IA, 1913, pp. 28 ff.

113. *Op. cit.*

114. Some of the Purāṇas call these kings Āndhras; others call them Āndhrabhṛtyas, and there are others that call them by both names. The majority of the Purāṇas distinguish between Āndhras and Āndhrabhṛtyas, and state that the Āndhrabhṛtyas succeeded the Āndhras. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

115. 'Sātavāhana kule Kanhe rājasi etc', Nāsik, No. 22, EI, Vol. VIII, p. 93; and 'Sātavāhanakula yasapatishāpanakurasa,' Nāsik, No. 2, *ibid.*, 60 t. 1. 6.

'kula' essentially means 'family'.¹¹⁶ The term 'jāti' on the other hand means 'caste or tribe.' That the terms Sātavāhana and Āndhra are not identical is shown by the fact that in the grants of Pallava Śiva-Skandavarman Sātāhani-rajtha (Sātavāhani-rajtha) and Āndhāpatha (Āndhrāpatha) are the names given to two provinces.¹¹⁷ No wonder then that the inscriptions which give the dynastic name considered the mention of the tribal name superfluous.¹¹⁸ In the Pallava Kadamba and Cālukya records the dynastic appellation only is given and if literary evidence should throw some light upon their tribal connections no one would challenge them by saying that such connections are unknown to epigraphic records. As for the Greek writers, Megasthenes does not mention the dynastic name of the Magadhan, Kalingan, and Āndhra kings. Ptolemy mentions Polemaios (Vāsīthiputa sami Siri-Puṣumāvi of the records) of Paithān, but does not give us his dynastic name. Are we to hold that he did not belong to the Sātavāhana kula?

It will not do to ignore the Purāṇic testimony to the extent to which Sukthankar has done. No doubt the Purāṇas have to answer charges of defective chronology, incomplete lists of kings, corruption in names and different readings of the same passage in different manuscripts. Most of these defects are a result not of ignorance of facts on the part of Purāṇic writers but of misreading of manuscripts and bad copying. Pargiter thinks that the corruption in names must have occurred in the Sanskritization of Prākṛt names.¹¹⁹ The earliest Purāṇa, the *Bhaviṣya*, from which the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu* derive their account, Sanskritized earlier metrical accounts in literary Prākṛt; the dynastic portion terminates with the downfall of the Āndhras and the rise

116. In the *Mahāvastu*, *Dharmapada*, the Five Jātakas and *Kuddhaka-pāṭha*, it is used in this sense only. In the *Tālaguṇḍa* ins. of Kākusthevarman, (EI., Vol. VIII p. 32, t. 1. 3), Kadambakula signifies the Kadamba family.

117. The Hira-Haḍagalli and the Mayidavolu plates.

118. In Uṣavadāta's Nāsik and Kārli inscrs. Nahapāna is called a Kṣaharāta, and we know from Nāsik No. 2 that Kṣaharāta is a family name, (Kṣaharātavana). In a Kanheri ins. (Lüders, op. cit., No. 1021) Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman's daughter is said to have belonged to the Kārddamaka race or family. From literary and other sources we know that Nahapāna and Rudradāman belonged to the Pahlava and Śaka tribes.

119. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 97 ff. It must be noted, however, that Pargiter's conclusions have often been challenged by Keith, Kirtel, and other writers.

of their servants. The *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* carry the narrative to the rise of the Guptas, but are silent about the whirlwind campaigns of Samudragupta. Pargiter notes¹²⁰ that between 325-340 A.D. the accounts were revised twice. The Purāṇas were, therefore, redacted at a time when the Sātavāhana dominion in South India was a thing of the immediate past. Pargiter has shown that there is an indication that a compilation was begun in the latter part of the second century A.D. in Siri-Yaśa's reign, for five manuscripts of the *Matsya*, of which three appear to be independent,¹²¹ speak of him as reigning in his ninth or tenth year. The nearness of the Purāṇas to the Sātavāhanas makes their testimony about their tribal affinities unquestionable.¹²²

Having cut himself from the old moorings of Purāṇic testimony, Mr. Sukthankar seeks to locate the habitat of the Sātavāhanas in the modern Bellary District. The only source of his assertion is the terms '*Sātavāhani-hāra*' and '*Sātūhani-raṭṭha*' (*Sātavāhani-raṭṭha*) occurring in inscriptions coming from the small compass of the Bellary District.¹²³ On the analogy of inhabitants lending their names to countries, he looks upon Sātavāhani-hāra corresponding to the modern Bellary District and perhaps its neighbourhood as the original habitat of the Sātavāhanas.

120. *Ibid.*, pp. xiii, p. 23.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 42, n. 8.

122. While Sukthankar accuses the Purāṇas of calling *Andhrabāhṛtyas* (servants of the Andhras) Andhras, Ray Chaudhuri suggests that the name Andhra "probably came to be applied to the kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became purely an Andhra power governing the territory at the mouth of the river *Kṛishṇā*" (*Pol. Hist. of India*, p. 280). Sātavāhana rule over the *Andhradeśa* lasted for three quarters of a century. Śāmi Siri-Yaśa, No. 27 in the *Matsya* list, ruled over the western Deccan. The Sātavāhanas would seem to have become a purely eastern power only a few decades before their fall. It has been shown that a compilation of the Purāṇas was begun in Siri-Yaśa's reign, at a time when the Sātavāhanas were a western as well as an eastern power.

123. The Myākadoni inscription and the Hira-Haḍagaḷi plates. Myākadoni is a village in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary Dt.

Hemacandra gives *Sālāhana* and *Sālavāhana* as variations of Sātavāhana (Pischel, *op. cit.*). *Truc*, *viṣaya* (Hira-Haḍagaḷi plates) and *rāṣṭra* (*Cōlarāṭṭha*) denote sometimes a kingdom. But in the Uruvellaḷi grant *Mundarāṣṭra* is referred to at the end as a *viṣaya* (IA, Vol. V, p. 51 f. ll. 17, 28). The *Kūḍurāhāra* of the Konḍamudi grant is called *Kudrāhāra-viṣaya* in the *Valageyaka* grants and *Kudrāra-viṣaya* in some Eastern *Cālukya* grants. Therefore Sātavāhana '*hāra*,' Pallava '*rāṣṭra*' and *Valageyaka* '*viṣaya*' would denote the same territorial division—not bigger than a modern district.

If Sātavāhani-hāra was the starting point of Sātavāhana power, why are not inscriptions of the early Sātavāhanas found in this territory? Worse still, only an inscription of the last king of the line is found here;¹²⁴ and Sukthankar bases his conclusions on the provenance of inscriptions! He gives instances of provinces getting their names from their early inhabitants. But the term in question is an instance of a dynasty lending its name to a part of the kingdom and not of a people lending their name to the whole kingdom.¹²⁵

We are prepared to say with Mr. Sukthankar that the province must have been so called on account of "some intimate connection" between the land and the dynasty. A tentative solution may be proposed that under the later Sātavāhanas, a town in Sātavāhani-hāra became the seat of their capital which would have been shifted to the east after the conquest of their western territories by the Western Kṣatrapas. True, during the reign of the last king, the province is under a Mahāsenāpati.¹²⁶ Instances of the headquarters of a district lending its name to the district are numerous, e.g., Govadhana, Govadhanahāra (Lüders, *List No.* 1124); Kūdūra, Kūdūrahāra (No. 1328); Patīthāna and Patīthānapathā (No. 988) and Dhaññakataka and the kingdom of To-na-kie-tse-kia which may be considered as the Chinese representative of Dhaññakataka. In the Tālaguṇḍa inscription of Kakusthavarman, the capital of the Pallavas is called Pallavapurī. Kandarapura at which Mahārāja Damodaravarman of the Ananda gotra is said to have ruled¹²⁷ must have received its name from that prince Kandarā, who is mentioned as an ancestor of Attivarman.¹²⁸ The Anandas and the Pallavas are not far removed from the Sātavāhanas. The capital of the Sātavāhanas might have been called Sātavāhanapura or Sātavāhanipura and the district in which it was situated, Sātavāhani-hāra;¹²⁹ the Pallavas might have continued the name.

124. The Myakadoni inscription of Puṣumāvi.

125. "The learned Parianellaagar is inclined to make Cōla the name, like the Pāṇḍya and Cēra, of a ruling family or clan of immemorial antiquity and renown." *The Cōlas*, Vol. I, p. 24. Cōlamandalaṁ would then be an instance of a territorial designation formed on a dynastic name. It is not, however, an instance of a part of a kingdom getting its name from the dynasty to the exclusion of the other parts.

126. The Myakadoni inscription of Puṣumāvi.

127. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 328.

128. IA, Vol. IX, pp. 162-163.

129. Excavations of the type conducted at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa may bring to

Now the Purāṇic, epigraphic and numismatic evidence can be correlated in a way different from those so far considered. The term *Āndhrabhrīya*, 'Āndhra Servant' gives the clue. Will the facts of Sātavāhana history make it improbable that the Sātavāhanas, undoubtedly Āndhras by tribal connections, were high officers of state under the Mauryas like the Kanvas, called the servants of the Śuāgas? True, the Āndhra territory while acknowledging Mauryan suzerainty enjoyed some independence unlike the 'King's Dominions.' This semi-independence need not have been a bar to the Āndhras (of the ruling family) accepting offices under the suzerain. In Asoka's edicts, Yavanas are politically classed with the Āndhras;¹³⁰ and we find a Yavana serving as governor under Asoka.¹³¹

It may still seem impossible to ascertain how these 'Servant Āndhras' of the eastern Deccan drifted into the western Deccan. Asoka's edicts and the Gīrnār inscription of Rudradāman form links in the chain of evidence, and suggest that the Mauryan dominion in South India was the medium through which this drift took place. In Asoka's edicts the Yavanas are placed with the Gāndhāras and Kāmbojas in the north-west, and still Surāṣṭra was governed by a Yavana king for Asoka. Indian History offers us many clear instances of dynastic drifts like the Mauryas of Konkan, the Guptas or Guttas of Guttal and the Cōlas of Renāṇḍu. In the reign of Pulakeśin II "in the Konkanas, the watery stores of the pools which were the Mauryas were quickly ejected by the great wave which was Candadanda, who acted at his command."¹³² A prince, Dhavaḷa, of the Maurya lineage is mentioned in the Kanaswa inscription of A.D. 738-739, in the Kotah State, Rajaputana.¹³³ In an inscription of Vāghḷi in the Khandesh District dated Ś. 991, princes of the Maurya clan, the original home of which is said to have been the city of Valabhī in Surāṣṭra, are mentioned.¹³⁴ The Guttas of the twelfth century A.D. with their capital at Guttavolal, which may be safely identified with the modern Guttal in the Karaji taluq of the Dharwar District (where all their records are found),

light the remains of the capital in the Bellary Dt. or its neighbourhood. In the Adoni taluq there is a village called Sātanūru.

130. RE, XIII.

131. The Gīrnār ins. of Rudradāman, EI, VIII, p. 45, l. 1. 8.

132. The Alhōle inscription of Pulakeśin II, IA, VIII, p. 244.

133. Ibid., XIX, p. 56.

134. EI, Vol. II, pp. 220 ff.

trace their descent to Candragupta through a Vikramāditya who is specified as a king of Ujjain. The earliest Telugu records (eighth century A.D.) from the Cuddapah District including the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra, have brought to light a line of kings claiming Cōḷa descent, who had however their dominion in Pallava territory.¹³⁵ The Vēlūrpālayam plates give us the clue;¹³⁶ there the Pallava Siṃhaviṣṇu is said to have "seized the country of the Cōḷas embellished by the daughter of Kavera whose ornaments are the forests of the paddy (fields) and where (are found) brilliant groves of areca." When the power of the Cōḷas fell to a low ebb and Siṃhaviṣṇu's sway extended over the Cōḷa country, the scions of the eclipsed Cōḷa dynasty must have sought service under their conqueror and so moved up north.¹³⁷ Epigraphical records from the Maddaguri taluq of the Tumkur District refer to a certain Dhanamjaya Eriḡa, a Cōḷa. The Cōḷas of the Tumkur District may have been of a common stock with the Cōḷas of Renāṇḍu among whom we have a Dhanamjayavarman.¹³⁸ The drift of the Mauryas from Magadha to Konkan, Khandesh and Rajputana, and of the Guptas (Guttas) from the north to Guttal may be explained in the same manner. Even as late as the sixteenth century, Cōḷa chiefs with traditionary descent from Karikāla are found as viceroys under Vijayanagara rulers.¹³⁹ The instances so far cited support the theory that in the days of tribulation and rather obscure existence under their Mauryan suzerains, scions of the royal family in the Āndhradeśa might have passed into the service of the Mauryan kings and so have gone to the western Deccan as viceroys, thereby getting the Purāṇic appellation Āndhrabhṛtya. A fragment of Rock Edict VIII discovered at Supāra¹⁴⁰ makes it certain that a part of the western Deccan was included in the 'King's Dominions.' When the strong arm of Asoka disappeared, their shrewd and more fortunate descendants would have found themselves in a position to strike a blow in their own interest, not in the land of their birth which was far away, but in the land of

135. The Mālēpāḍu plates, EI, XI, p. 345.

136. *SII*, Vol. II, No. 98, pp. 507 ff.

137. The names of the first two princes mentioned in the Mālēpāḍu plates, Nandivarman and his son Siṃhaviṣṇu, bear striking resemblance to some names in Pallava genealogy.

138. 380 of 1904.

139. *ARE*, 1909, p. 112.

140. *CII*, Vol. I.

their adoption. It is possible that in some such manner Simuka, an Āndhra, might have started the political power of the dynasty. But at present we have no evidence in favour of this conjecture.

For all that we know, the ancestors of the Sātavāhanas of the western Deccan might not have belonged to any royal family in the Āndhradeśa. They might have been nobles or fortune hunters who readily passed into the service of the Mauryan suzerains and so moved up to western Deccan.

If the Jain legends which mention Paithān as the capital of the first Sātavāhana king may be believed, it would seem to be the starting-point of the Sātavāhana power. The close association of the Sātavāhanas with *Mahārāṭhis* (matrimonial alliance) and the office of *Mahārāṭhi* show the extent to which Simuka enlisted the support of the powerful Rāṭhikas of the west. This reminds one of the Cuṭu-Pallava matrimonial alliance which would seem to have, in the same measure, contributed to Pallava ascendancy in the south (later Pallava inscriptions mention a Cūta-Pallava as the founder of the dynasty). If the Purāṇic 'bāṛṭyāḥ' and 'sa-jāṇyāḥ' are correct, it would seem that Simuka was also helped by a number of faithful Āndhras who like his ancestors had moved up to the western Deccan. The early Sātavāhanas seem to have been engaged in the first instance in the conquest of Mahārāṣṭra north and south, Malwa and the modern Central Provinces.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

The Starting point

Relying upon the supposed date in the Maurya era in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela,¹ and looking upon Khāravela as the third member of the Cedi dynasty of Kalinga² like Sirī-Sātakaṇi of the Śātavāhana dynasty, Rapson would place the beginnings of the dynasty (170 B.C. + 41, i.e., Simuka 23, Kanha 18) somewhere between 220 and 211 B.C.³ The chronological arrangements adopted here would place Simuka 384 years⁴ before 150 A.D., i.e. 234 B.C. Though an edict later than Rock Edict VIII dated in the tenth year of Asoka⁵ has not been found in western Deccan,⁶ it is improbable that Asoka's reign witnessed a break-up of the empire; and Asoka's death would seem to have taken place somewhere between 236 and 232 B.C.⁷ The same conclusion can be arrived at in another way. As Pargiter has pointed out,⁸ the

1. Messrs. R. D. Banerji and K. P. Jayaswal remark: (EI, Vol. XX, p. 74) "It has been proved by repeated examinations of the rock that there is no date in the Maurya era.....as supposed by Bhagwanlal Indraji and ourselves formerly." The inscription reads "Muriṣa Kāla vochinam ca coyatī Asoka-satika(m) turigaṃ upādayati" "aspires to be completed the 11 Aṅgas of the 64 letters which had become lost (or fragmentary) with the time of the Mauryas."

2. Vaddharājā and Kṣemarājā like Bhikṣarājā are epithets applied to King Khāravela, and not the names of his father and grandfather respectively as suggested by Rapson. (CIC, Andhra and Western Kantrapas etc., xviii). The text has 'Khemarājā as Vaddharājā as Bhikṣarājā sa Dharmarājā pasant(o) Sunat(o) amabhavato kalāṇāni....rājasi Vasūkeḥ vinivṛito mahatījayo Rājā Khāravela civi' EI, Vol. XX, p. 80.

3. Op. cit.

4. It would be shown below that Śivaskanda of the Purāṇas (No. 26 in the list) was the king defeated by Rudradāman twice before 150 A.D.

5. 10th year after his coronation.

6. A fragment found at Sopara.

7. The Purāṇic statements would place an interval of 49 years between the accessions of Candragupta and Asoka. According to V. A. Smith's scheme of chronology, Candragupta began to reign in 322-21 B.C. So Asoka would have ascended the throne in 272 B.C., he is said to have ruled for 36 years and been snuffed 4 years after his accession.

8. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kālī Age*, p. 37.

Purāṇic total of the individual reigns (of the Sātavāhana kings) excluding 24-a, is only 442½ years even if we take the longest periods, where there is a difference. But the whole duration is said to have been 460 in the *Matsya*, though it is given as 411 in *Vāyu*. The addition of Sātakarṇi mentioned in the *Vāyu* only would increase its total to 440. It would therefore appear, that the total 442½ years has much to be said in its favour. The end of the Sātavāhana dynasty cannot be placed earlier than 207 A.D.,⁹ and 442½ years before 207 A.D. would give us the same 234 B.C.¹⁰

Founder of the dynasty: Simuka

As the Purāṇas speak of 'Simuka Sātavāhana Sirimato' as simply 'Sisuka 'ndhrak sa jātīyah' before the *conq d'état*, and as

9. The Sātavāhanas ruled for 55 years after 150 A.D.

10. The Purāṇas place the Sātavāhanas after the Kānvas, i.e., (Mauryas 139, Śuṅgas 112 and Kānvas 45) 25 B.C. The Purāṇas treat contemporary dynasties as successive. They say that 18 Śakas (Western Ksatrapas) came after the Sātavāhanas. Some of the Western Ksatrapas of the Caṣṭana line were certainly contemporaries of the later Sātavāhanas as inscriptions, coins and Ptolemy's statement would show. It is not possible under the Purāṇic scheme to place Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Pulamśvi who certainly preceded Rudradāman of the Gūrdār inscription of 150 A.D., after that date; for does not Ptolemy call Caṣṭan the grandfather of Rudradāman, a contemporary of Pulamśvi?

In the memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 1, *Dates of Votive Inscriptions from Sāñel*, R. P. Chanda argues on palaeographical grounds that the earliest votive inscriptions are later than Asoka's and Heliodorus' inscriptions by a century, and that the Siri-Sātakarṇi inscription belongs to the later group, which he assigns to the period between 75 and 20 B.C. He identifies the Siri-Sātakarṇi of the Sāñel inscription with No. 6 in the list. No. 6 in the list, according to the chronological scheme adopted here, belongs to the years between 180 and 130 B.C. There is no reason why he should not be one of the numerous Sātakarṇis found in the Purāṇic lists after No. 6.

A comparative study of the palaeography of the Nāneghāt and Bhilsā inscriptions enables us to reject the view of Bühler that the Sātakarṇis of the two inscriptions are identical. Bhilsā *va* with the shorter neck and rounded body, the more ornate Bhilsā *i* sign, the less angular *ta* with the vertical at the centre and the *da* with the more rounded back than the Nāneghāt inscription, stamp the Bhilsā inscription as one later than the Nāneghāt inscription.

The Bhilsā Tōpe inscription under reference is carved on the bas-relief of a torana in the middle of the upper architrave of the South Gateway. It records the donation of a Vāsīthiputra Ananda, the foreman of the artisans of Siri-Sātakarṇi. The plates published in the JBORS, 1917, make it clear that Vāsīthiputra is the metonymic not of the king but of the artisan. For Rapson's view, *op. cit.*, xlvii.

'Rāja Simuka' after it,¹¹ it is certain that he was the founder of the dynasty. But as his brother Kaṇha is also said to have belonged to the Sātavāhana *kula*,¹² Simuka could not have given the name of the dynasty. Then who gave the name to the dynasty? The question cannot at present be satisfactorily answered.

The meaning of 'Sātavāhana' is as obscure as those of 'Cāḷukya,' 'Pallava' and 'Vākāṭaka.' For one thing the name is not Sātavāhana as Rapson would have it,¹³ Jinaprabhāsūri, a Jain monk of the fourteenth century A.D., derives the word thus: 'Sanoterdānārthatvāt lokaiḥ Sātavāhana iti vyapadeśam lambhitaḥ,' i.e. people call him Sātavāhana, because (the verb) 'sanoti' signifies 'to give' and hence one by whom were given (sātāni) conveyances (vāhanāni) was called Sātavāhana.¹⁴ Another derivation of the name is given in the *Kaṭhāsarit-sāgara* which explains it as meaning 'he who rode a yakṣa named Sāta (in the form of a lion)'.¹⁵ These fanciful explanations show that the origin of the term was forgotten long before the fourteenth century. Recently M. Przyluski has given us an equally fanciful explanation.¹⁶

11. Pargiter: *op. cit.*, p. 38.

12. The Purāṇas give various readings: *Matsya* generally 'Śiuka'; *d* Mt. Śiūdhrā; *e* Mt. Śiūka; *e* Vāyu Cismako; *Viṣṇu* Śiprako; *j* *Viṣ.* Śudhra. According to Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 11), Simuka was misread 'Śiuka' and Sanskritized 'Śiuka'; and Śiuka cannot be Sanskrit Śimukha (one with a glorious face as Bhagwanlal and Bühler proposed (*ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 69). Sans. 'Śi' is invariably represented in Prakṛit by 'siri.' In the *relievo* inscription at Nāgabhāt itself, Simuka bears the honorific prefix 'Sirimato'. 'Śiva' enters into the composition of some Sātavāhana names and is used as an honorific prefix even by early Sātavāhanas. However, palaeography prevents us from subscribing to Burgess' view that 'Śivamuka (of an Amarāvati inscription) might possibly be the same as Simuka of the Nāgabhāt inscription No. 3.' (*ASSI*, Vol. I, p. 62, n. 2).

13. Sātavāhana with the dental *s* occurs in Bāṇa's verse, Hemacandra's works and Somadeva's *Kaṭhāsarit-sāgara*. However, Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* spells the word with palatal sibilant *ś*. The words as given by Bhandarkar are (*EHD*, p. 69, n. 7) 'Kartarjā Kuntalāḥ Śālakarṇāḥ Sātavāhana Mahādeviṃ Malagavarīm (jaghāna)'. Dr. Fleet remarks (*JRAS*, 1916, p. 818 n. 3): "It is, however not possible that Vātsyāyana himself can have used the palatal sibilant in these two names." As will be shown below, Śālakarṇi with the palatal sibilant *ś* is a mistake for Sātakarṇi with the dental *s*. It then becomes easier to suppose that Sātavāhana with the palatal sibilant *ś* is a similar error in spelling.

14. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 132.

15. *Kaṭhāsarit-sāgara*, trans. Vol. I, p. 37.

16. *JRAS*, 1929, p. 273.

According to him *Sādān*, *sadān* and *sādān* in Munda languages mean 'horse,' *vāhana* is a Sanskritization of *han* or *hapan* meaning 'son.' *Sātavāhana* is rendered 'son of horse'. The explanation given is, that princes born of the magical union between the chief queen and the sacrificial horse (during the performance of the *Aśvamedha*) would have come to be called 'sons of the horse.' It is not possible here to traverse the grounds, highly speculative, on which Przyluski seeks to trace pre-Dravidian influences in post-Aryan society and institutions in India. We must be content with the observation that, according to the learned philologist's explanation every *kṣatriya* prince, whose father had performed the *Aśvamedha* would be a *Sātavāhana* or *Sātahapan*. Yet history knows of only one dynasty that went by that name. It is possible to consider 'Sāta' as the past participle of *Saw*, to obtain, to gain; *Sātavāhana* would then mean one who obtained a 'vāhana', perhaps one who by his deeds secured a high position in Mauryan military service; and the *Sātavāhanas* were according to the *Purāṇas* 'Servant Āndhras.' The *Śilappadikāram* refers to *Purambaiyān vālkōṭṭam* and *Pāṇḍa Sāttan* (ix, ll. 12 and 15). The commentaries explain *Purambaiyān* by *Māsāttan* and *Sātavāhanas*; I do not think that these references to the village deity, the guardian of the boundary of the village, and to his proficiency in the heretical lore, have any place in the elucidation of the dynastic name of the *Sātavāhanas*. For one thing *Aḍiyārkkunallār*, the commentator, is only as old as *Jinaprabhāsūri*. The spelling in 'Sāstā' is another argument.¹⁷

The wife of *Sātakaṇi* I was versed in and performed numerous sacrifices and worshipped *Vāsudeva*, *Kṛṣṇa* and *Saṁkarṣaṇa*. *Gotamiṇi* *Siri-Sātakaṇi*'s mother led the life of a royal *ṛṣi*. The former prides himself over 'having stopped the contamination of the four castes.' A later *Sātavāhana* king bears the name *Yāña Sātakaṇi*.

All *Purāṇas* are agreed that he ruled for 23 years. According to Jain legend the first king, *Sātavāhana* by name (evidently *Simuka*), built Jaina temples and *cetiya*s. But in the closing years of his reign he became a wicked king and was dethroned and killed.¹⁸

17. The reference to *Sāttan* in *Śilappadikāram* was pointed out to me by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar; but I am unable to follow his interpretation for which see *Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Commemoration Volume*, pp. 156-8.

18. *JBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 134.

Kaṇha I

Simuka was succeeded by his brother Kaṇha.¹⁹ In his time the Sātavāhana kingdom extended as far west as Nāsik if not further. Evidence of the modelling of Sātavāhana administration on Mauryan lines is furnished by the Nāsik inscription of his time, which mentions the construction of a cave by a *Mahāmātra* in charge of the *śramaṇas* or monks (at Nāsik)—*Mahāmātras* are a class of officials mentioned in the Asokan inscriptions. The cave is the earliest excavation in the series, and stands far below the other caves. The cells on three sides are decorated with *cetiya* arches at the top of the openings. Of the four pillars that support the roof of the verandah, two are half-pillars and the others are square at the top and bottom, and octagonal in the middle. They have no capital.²⁰

According to Rapson, Kaṇha would have reigned for 18 years.²¹ *Matsya* has generally *aṣṭādaśa*. But some Mss. of *Vāyu* read *asmāddāśa*.²² Pargiter has pointed out in the introduction that where there are two readings, one *asmāddāśa* and another *aṣṭādaśa*, *abdhādaśa* would reconcile these different readings.

Siri-Sātakaṇi I

On epigraphic as well as literary (Purāṇic) evidence, the third king of the line is Siri-Sātakaṇi—according to Rapson the Siri-Sāta of the coins, the husband of Nāyanikā, the daughter of *Mahārāṇi* Tranakayiro.²³ According to Rapson it is not possible to reconcile the Purāṇic statement that Sātakaṇi I was the son of Kṛṣṇa, the brother of Simuka, with the evidence supplied by the

19. The *Mt.*, *Vā.*, *Bḷ.*, *Bhḷg.* and *Vṛ.* are agreed in calling him the brother of Simuka. According to Rapson this fact fully explains the absence of his name in the Nānaghāt reliefs inscriptions (*op. cit.*, p. xix).

20. *Pl.* IV, No. 4.

21. *Op. cit.*, p. lxvi.

22. Pargiter: *op. cit.*, p. 30, n.28.

23. In a Nāsik inscription (*El.* Vol. VIII, p. 88), Viṣṇudatā, daughter of Śaka Agniwarman calls herself a *Śakanikā*. In the Poona plates of Prabhūvatigupta (*El.* Vol. XV, p. 41, t. 11, 7 and 8), Kuberanāgā, wife of Candragupta, is said to have belonged to the Nāga tribe. On these analogies the name Nāganikā may indicate the tribe to which she belonged. The Nāga alliance is partially preserved in the Jain legends which make Sātavāhana the son of a Brahman girl and Śeṣa, the king of serpents. (*JBRAS.* Vol. X, p. 132).

relievo figures of Simuka, Siri-Sātakani, and the latter's family.²⁴ The *relievo* inscriptions mention Rāya Simuka, then Siri-Sātakani and his wife, then a Kumāra Bhāya . . . , then Mahārāṭhi Tranakayiro, evidently the father of the queen, then Kumāras Hakusiri and Sātavāhana. Most of the *relievo* figures are almost lost, only the legs being partially visible; the rest are completely lost leaving only the space. As will be seen presently, the space for two figures between those of Nāyanikā and Kumāra Bhāya . . . , was filled by the figures of Vedisiri and Kumāra Satisiri. Then Kaṇha has no place in the *relievos*.

Other results which Bühler and Rapson have arrived at by a comparative study of the *relievo* figures and the sacrificial inscription of Nāyanikā at Nāneghāt are that queen Nāyanikā was the mother of Vedisiri and Satisiri, and that she governed the kingdom during the minority of Vedisiri. According to them the Kumāra Hakusiri of the *relievos* is the Satisirimat of the inscription.²⁵ True, in the Dravidian Prakṛi of the Sātavāhana epigraphs *ha* sometimes takes the place of *sa*, e.g. Harhgha=Saṃgha;²⁶ Hiru-Hātakani=Siri-Sātakani, Hāla=Sāta. But nowhere is *ku* or *ka* used for *ti*. Moreover one would expect Haku Hiru rather than Hakusiri.²⁷ This seems also to dispose of Bühler's identification of Satisiri with Hakusiri.²⁸ Further, Kumāra Sati has 'sirimato' and not 'siri' suffixed to his name. As Kumāras Bhāya . . . , and Sātavāhana are not mentioned in the sacrificial inscription;²⁹ and as between the representations of Kumāra Bhāya . . . , and Mahārāṭhi Tranakayiro³⁰ two statues and their inscriptions have disappeared,³¹ Nāyanikā would seem to have had more than two sons; it would seem that Vedisiri and Satisiri were represented in the *relievo* figures now lost and that the sacrificial inscription, which mentions only two princes (neither of whom is the eldest son, i.e. Kumāra Bhāya), is posterior to the *relievo* figures and the inscriptions over them.

24. *Op. cit.*, xix, n. 4.

25. Rapson: *op. cit.*, xx, n. 3.

26. Lüders, *List Nos.* 1210, 1271, 1272, 1281, etc.

27. Prof. Sunīti Kumar Chatterjee assures me that the change of 'Sati' into 'Haku' is not possible.

28. ASWI, Vol. V, p. 68, n. 2.

29. Bühler would identify the latter with Vedisiri ASWI, Vol. V, p. 68; but Rapson is more cautious, *op. cit.*, xlvj.

30. Pl. I, No. 1.

31. BG, Vol. XVI, p. 611.

Sātakarṇi: Meaning

Many a prince in the Sātavāhana line bore the name Sātakarṇi, sometimes along with a metronymic and another name, and sometimes without one or both of them:—Siri-Sātakarṇi I, Cakora Sātakarṇi, Mrgendra Sātakarṇi, Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇi.

Whilst Rapson's view that sometimes Sātakarṇi was used generally is correct, the example given by him, i.e., the Gīrnār inscription where Sātakarṇi must mean Puṣumāvi is, as we shall see, rather unfortunate. Better examples are Sivamaka Sātakarṇi called simply Sātakarṇi in the Gīrnār inscription, and perhaps the Siri-Sātakarṇi of some coins closely allied to Siri-Yajña's coins by type and fabric, as all the successors and immediate predecessors of the latter bear personal names. The Sātakarṇi of the Nāgēghāt reliefs would seem to have borne a personal name ending in 'siri.' Sātakarṇi was sometimes abbreviated into Sāta, Sāti,³² Sada (Sada?)³³ and Sātaka.³⁴ Sadakana of the Chitāldoorg coins is a Prakṛt form of Satakarni.³⁵

The meaning of the term is, however, not settled. Rapson did not attempt to elucidate it. The Purāṇic forms Sātakarṇi, Sātakarṇi, Svātikarṇi, Svāti,³⁶ Svātivarṇa and Śāntikarṇi show how little the Purāṇic writers understood the meaning of the word Sātakarṇi in Prakṛt. Prof. Jean Przyluski's suggestion that karṇi

32. EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 318, l. 1. 3. Rapson: *op. cit.*, Pl. III, G. P. and Pl. VIII, G. P. 3.

33. Rapson, *op. cit.*

34. ASWI, Vol. V, No. 24, Kaṇhēri Inscriptions. According to Rapson, Sadakana and Sātaka may be forms of Sātakāraṇi (*op. cit.*, lxxxii). As Sāta is an abbreviation of Sātakarṇi or Sātakarṇi, as the Banavāsi inscription of Hārīputra Viṣṇukaṇḍa-Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi (IA, 1885, p. 331) and the Malavalli inscription of a Kadamba king (EC, Vol. VII, p. 252 and Pl.) make it clear that more than one prince in the Cuṭu line bore the name Sātakarṇi, Sātaka as a form of Sātakarṇi is more probable.

35. 'Sadakana' occurs in a clay tablet from Candravalli which was exhibited at the Eighth Oriental Conference at Mysore (1935). The reading is mine. The tablet bears the Trisūla emblem in the centre.

36. The Purāṇic Svāti is possibly a mis-Sanskritization of Sāti, which, like Sāta, is an abbreviation of Sātakarṇi. Krishna Sastri remarks: "...the name-ending svātikarṇa is more likely to have been the origin of the later Sātakarṇi than the fanciful śata-karṇa (the hundred-eared)." (EI, Vol. XVIII, pp. 317-18).

is derived from the Muṇḍa *kon* meaning 'son', and that *Sāta* is the Muṇḍa 'Sādām' meaning horse, is ingenious, but not convincing. Long ago Mr. Coomaraswamy proposed to identify the *Nāṅṅavar Kannaṛ* of the Tamil Epic, *Śīleppadikāraṇi*,³⁷ with a Sātavāhana Sātakarṇi. Since then the Pandits have sought to derive Sātakarṇi from Śatakarni (*Śatakarnasya putraḥ Śatakarniḥ*). So far as we know Simuka, the father of Sātakarṇi I, did not bear either the name Sātakarṇi. In all the Sanskrit inscriptions in which the term occurs³⁸ we have Sātakarṇi and not Śatakarni. True the Purāṇas spell the word sometimes with Ś and sometimes with S. Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* gives the form Sātakarṇi.³⁹ But the evidence of the inscriptions which belong to the third and fourth centuries A.D. is conclusive. The meaning given by the Tamil annotator cannot therefore be readily accepted. *Sāta* cannot be connected with *Śāttan* for the reasons stated above. Sātakarṇi would be the name of a descendant of Satakarni. Satakarni is as curious a name as Kumbhakarna, Lambodara and Jātikarna.⁴⁰ If we read the name as Śatakarni it may mean one with 'a sharp ear'.

It is not true to say that Sātakarṇi is only the dynastic name of both Sātavāhana and Cuṭu families.⁴¹ It was also borne by ministers and ordinary persons. In a Kuṇḍā inscription⁴² a minister bears the name Hāla=Sāta, a contraction for Sātakarṇi. In Nāsik No. 3, the preparation of the plates or the cloth or the palm leaves is attributed to a '-takarṇi,' and the lacuna could have contained one letter only. So (Sā)takarṇi is most probable.⁴³

37. Pp. 540-41. He figures as a close ally of Śeṅguṭṭivan; he is here represented as being prepared to secure for Śeṅguṭṭivan, a stone from the Himalayas, out of which was to be carved a figure of Pattini.

38. (a) *Dakṣiṇāpathakopāṭe Śātakarṇe dvir apl*—the Gīrnār inscription of Rudradāman, EI, Vol. VIII, p. 44, l. 12.

(b) *... . prāsubhā-Śātakarṇi-ādibhis*—the Tālaguṇḍa inscription of Kākusthavarman, EI, Vol. VIII, p. 33, l. 14.

(c) *"Vāsiṣṭhūputrasya Śātakarṇisya"*—Kanheri inscription of the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudra, ASWI, Vol. V, p. 78, Pl. LI.

39. Vide *supra*.

40. Vedic Index, q.v.

41. Rapson: *op. cit.*, Index, V, p. 264.

42. CII, No. 18, p. 15.

43. Pace Senart who says (EI, Vol. VIII, p. 70): "It is most improbable that we should have to read Śātakanina, and it would indeed be extremely puzzling if this royal name were borne by a simple engraver."

Śātakaṇi's Imperial Position

The long record at Nānaghāt incised during the minority of Vedisiri by the regent Nāyanikā mentions a number of sacrifices performed. Among those mentioned are the *Aśvamedha*, *Rājasūya*, *Agnyādheya*, *Anvārambhaniya*, *Gavāmayana*, *Bhagaladaśarātra*, *Aptoryāma*, *Āngirasāmayana*, *Gārgatirātra*, *Āngirasatirātra*, *Chandogapevamānatirātra*, *Trayodaśarātra*, *Daśarātra*, and some others as the lacunae would show.

Bühler supposes that these sacrifices were all performed by Nāyanikā though he admits that "according to the Śāstras, women are not allowed to offer Śrauta sacrifices and that those who perform such sacrifices for them (*strīyājaka*) are severely blamed; yet that seems hardly probable for in the sentence which ends with *yāñehi yijham*, 'the sacrifices were offered,' we have the impersonal passive construction and the genitive *rāyasa*, 'of the king'...." Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar objects; "It is inconceivable that Nāganikā, even as queen-regent, celebrated it (the *Aśvamedha*) of her own accord and to indicate her paramount sovereignty.....as Nāganikā's husband Śātakaṇi has been styled *apratihatacakra*, it is proper and natural to suppose that it was he who celebrated the sacrifice twice. What appears to be the case is that Śātakaṇi it must be, who carried out the sacrifices referred to in the epigraph, and as all sacrifices are performed by *Yajamānas* along with their consorts, Nāganikā has been associated with him." The fact that Nāganikā's husband is called *vīra*, *sūra*, *Dakṣiṇā* (*patha*) *pa* (*ti*), and *apratihatacakra*, and the words '*rāyasa* . . . (*ya*) *ñehi yijham*' support Bhandarkar's conclusions. After '*caritabrahmacāriyāya dikavratasamādāya yāñe huta*.....', '*vano*' appears, and after '*vano*' there is a stop. It is therefore probable that Nāyanikā's part is only the description of the sacrifices performed by her husband, and we know that the record was incised after the death of Siri-Śātakaṇi I. The epithets *dharmadāsa*, *kāmadāsa*, *varadāsa*, *putradāsa*, if they apply to Siri-Śātakaṇi, would be another piece of argument in favour of our conclusion.⁴⁵

44. IA, Vol. XLVII, p. 72, n. 11.

45. Bühler's reading '*s(n)āgavaradāyiniya*' is uncertain. Neither the *a* nor the *na* is certain.

The epithets '*putradāsa varadāsa*' etc., cannot apply to Vedisiri as his name is in a compound with *mātavya*. Nor can they apply to Satisiri-mātava, as they are too far removed from it.

It would then be that Siri-Sātakani I was a powerful monarch and that most of the sacrifices were performed by him to commemorate the expansion of his empire of which we have evidence from the coins. The Nānēghāt record is then the funeral oration of a disconsolate wife.

Sātakani I—Khāravela Synchronism?

According to the Hāthīgumphā inscription, Khāravela, in his second year, sent an army to the west disregarding Sātakani. The army reached the Kanhabenā river and struck terror into the Mūsika capital or city.⁴⁶ K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji have shown that the Hāthīgumphā inscription mentions a Yavana king Dīmīta who was forced by Khāravela's victorious invasion of Northern India to retreat to Mathurā. As he could only be Demetrius I, who on his coins wears the head-dress made of elephant's skin, and who would have come to the throne about 190 B.C., king Khāravela's reign would on this synchronism fall in the second and third decades of the second century B.C. Sātakani I would, according to the chronological scheme adopted here, have reigned between 200 and 190 B.C. As Sātakani II would have come to throne in 172 B.C. the synchronism of Khāravela and Sātakani II is as probable as that of Khāravela and Sātakani I.

Hakusiri

An inscription on one of the pillars of the Cetiya cave at Nāsik mentions Mahā-Hakusiri and his grand-daughter Bhatapālikā, daughter of the royal officer (*amaca*) Arahālaya and wife of the royal officer Agiyatanaka. The early type (i.e. in low relief) of the decoration of the façade, the simple lotus-shaped capitals of the pillars, and the proximity of the cave to that excavated in the reign of king Kanha, stamp it as a very early excavation in the series. Senart has pointed out that "if this Mahāhakusiri is the same as Kumāra Hakasiri at Nānāghāt, two generations would not be too much to explain the difference in the forms of letters which exists between our epigraph and the Nānāghāt inscription."⁴⁷ Bühler⁴⁸ assigns the inscription to a very early period and supposes that the

46. *Dutiya ca vase acitayitā Sātakanīm pacima-dīsam kapa-gajana-raḍha-behulam dandam pathāpēgati Kaśha-behād gādāya ca senāya vitāsitam M(u)sika-nagaram.*—*EI*, Vol. XX, p. 79.

47. *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 92.

48. *BC*, Vol. XVI, p. 608.

change in the characters of its alphabet is due not only to time, but to the development of the 'Malwa and Upper India style.' The fact that the grand-daughter of Mahā-Hakusiri is the daughter of one royal officer and wife of another makes it highly probable that the Hakusiri of this inscription belonged to the royal family and was therefore the Kumāra Hakusiri of the Nānēghāt *relieves*. But since he does not bear the title of Rājā which Sātavāhana kings invariably do, we cannot subscribe to the view of Rapson and Bühler that the Hakusiri of our inscription ascended the throne.

Satisiri

Satisiri mentioned as a son of Nāyanikā in the sacrificial inscription was probably represented in the *relieves* between Kumāra Bhāya..... and Mahārāṣṭri Tranakayiro and therefore before Hakusiri. Rapson and Bühler think that he may be the Śakti Kumāra of the Jain legends.⁴⁹ It has been shown above that he cannot be identified with Kumāra Hakusiri. In the *e Vāyu* and *Matsya* lists the successor of Sātakani I is Pūrṇotsantu (Pūrṇotsaṅga or Pūrṇotsarga also in *Mt.*). As Sātj and Sāta (abbreviations of Sātakani) were incorrectly Sanskritized into Sāntikarpa or Sātakarna, 'Santu' may likewise be an incorrect Sanskritization of Sāti, (San. Śakti); in that case Satisirimato of the Nānēghāt inscription would be the Pūrṇotsantu of *e Vāyu*.

Skandastambhi

This king, the sixth in the list, is mentioned only in some versions of the *Matysa Purāṇa*.⁵⁰ As will be shown below two or three kings have to be added to the Purāṇic list; and the number of kings is nowhere mentioned to have been more than thirty.⁵¹ Probably some of the names in the first half of the list have to be deleted as imaginary names mentioned to bring up the total to thirty. Skandastambhi's existence may therefore be reasonably doubted.

Sātakani II

If the Purāṇic chronology may be trusted Sātakani II ruled for 56 years,—the longest reign in the annals of the dynasty. From Western India come certain square coins (potin and copper) bear-

49. ASWI, Vol. V, p. 62, n. 1; Rapson: *op. cit.*, xx.

50. Pargiter: *op. cit.*, p. 29.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

ing partially the legends *Raño Sātakamniśa*;⁵² some bear the device of the springing lion, others that of an elephant with upraised trunk. According to Rapson they bear a close resemblance in size, shape and types to the coins of Erān (East Malwa). He cites the authority of Cunningham according to whom while the coins of Ujjain are invariably round pieces, those of Bēsnagar (according to him the capital of East Malwa) and Erān are nearly all square.⁵³ The double line border with the fish and swastika symbols are strikingly similar to the device supposed to represent the river Bīpa on the coins of Erān. The Sātakani of these coins would therefore seem to have ruled over East Malwa. West Malwa, as the Siri-Sāta coins show, had already passed into Sātavāhana hands in the reign of Sātakani I.⁵⁴

The Sātakani of the coins would seem to have been earlier than Apilaka, eighth in the Purāṇic lists. And so he must be No. 6 of the Purāṇic lists. The angular *ta* of the Sātakani coins brings them near the Nāpēghāt inscriptions. But too much reliance cannot be placed on the results arrived at by a comparison of coin legends and stone inscriptions. In the Sātakani coin the *ka* has no nail-head, and has a longer horizontal member than the *ka* of the Apilaka coin. East Malwa which, according to Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, was ruled by Agnimitra from Vidiśā would therefore seem to have come under Sātavāhana rule during the reign of Sātakani II, some time between 180 and 130 B.C.

According to Rapson the coins may be those of Gautamīputra or some earlier Sātakani,⁵⁵ and the Bhilsa inscription that of the time of Vāsīṭhiputa Viṣivāyakura, predecessor of Gautamīputra Sātakani.⁵⁶ But the early forms of *ka*, *da* and *ra*⁵⁷ in the Bhilsa Tope inscription place it long before Gotamīputra Sātakani's time. The Viṣivāyakuras do not belong to the Sātavāhana line (at least the main line).⁵⁸ Moreover, Rapson's conjecture that Vāsīṭhiputa applies to the king is not supported by the plate.

Apilaka

The authenticity of the Purāṇic lists which mention Apilaka as the 8th king has been proved by a large copper coin of this

52. Rapson: *op. cit.*, Pl. I, Nos. 5 to 12.

53. *CAL*, p. 95.

54. Rapson: *op. cit.*, xcii.

55. *Op. cit.*, xcvi.

56. *Ibid.*, xxvii, n. 2.

57. Bühler's *Tables* III.

58. *Vide supra*.

king from the Central Provinces.⁵⁹ Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit reads the legend as 'rāño siva-siri-Āpilakasa.' The legend, I think, should be read as 'rāño siva sirisa-Āpilakasa,'⁶⁰ the i sign is represented by two short strokes one vertical and the other horizontal attached to the right arm of pa. The coin bears the device of an elephant goad. What is above the elephant may be *nandipada*. Dikshit remarks "on numismatic grounds the place of this

59. The coin which belongs to the Mahā-Kaśī Society was exhibited at the Annual Exhibition of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of Archaeology, who has been kind enough to furnish me with an excellent photograph of the coin (Pl. I, No. 2). About coin No. 3 in his catalogue of coins in the British Museum Pl.—I xciv Rapson says: "It is inscribed with Brāhmī characters which are apparently of the same period, (i.e., Śātakaṇi I's) but which are too fragmentary to allow of any satisfactory reading. All that can be said is that the name of the king seems to have begun with Aja—or Aji—. No form occurring in the Purāṇic lists suggests any very probable identification, though it is possible that the curious name Āpitaka or Āpilavā which appears early in these lists . . . may be a corruption of the name of this king." It is no longer possible to hold with Rapson that Āpilaka is a Purāṇic corruption of a name beginning with Aja or Aji. We have a silver coin from Mathurā with the legends Ajadeva, and bearing the same symbols as our coin, i.e., the swastika with *ma* attached to each of the four arms, man standing, and representation of a river with fish swimming in it. On palaeographical evidence this coin belongs to the same period as No. 3 in Rapson's Catalogue.—(Mathurā is the findspot of many Śuṅga coins), and resembles in type and symbols the silver coin of Sumitra, identified with Sumitra of the *Harasacrita*, a Śuṅga prince in whose kingdom Malwa might have been included. (JBORS, 1934, Pl. facing p. 5, No. 2 and the following).

It might be remarked that both the Śātavāhana and the Śuṅga coins from Mathurā bear the same symbols. Rapson thinks that the Aja-coin (lead) is clearly connected by type with the potin coins of Siri-Sāta. Only future research can show whether the Śātavāhanas were indebted to the Śuṅgas or vice versa, or whether both were indebted to a particular locality for these symbols.

60. From the numerous forms of the name in the Purāṇas, Pargiter long ago chose Āpilaka of e Vāyu—op. cit., p. 39, n. 45. See Plate IX, No. 3.

This is an instance of an honorific prefix having a case ending in Śātavāhana inscriptions and coins; the only other instance is afforded by the legends on a coin attributed conjecturally by Rapson to Pūṣpāvi II (G. P. 3, Pl. op. cit.), which should be read in the following order: 'samiar a(i)r(i) (—)'. The combination of *sa* and *a* in *sa* is also curious, the only parallels for this being *Śindatt-ābhīrapatrasya* and *Abhīrasp-eivarasenasapa*. But these occur in a Sanskrit inscription while the legends on our coin are in Prākṛt.

ruler is more with the later kings of this dynasty than with the earlier ones as indicated in the Purāṇas.⁶¹ But the blank reverse of the coin certainly attests its early age. The early forms of *sa* and *ra* which are only slightly developed forms of those of the Siri-Sāta coins, and the primitive *i* sign (a short curve) stamp the coin as an early one in the series. No doubt the elephant is better executed but this is not without a parallel; the lion on Sātakani II's coins is better executed than that on Sakasena's coins.

His reign: Extent of his kingdom

The coin, like the inscriptions, bears witness to a growing empire. In his time the Sātavāhana power would seem to have extended as far north-east as the modern Central Provinces. It is hazardous to build too much on the provenance of a single coin. It is even significant that Sātakani I and II struck potin coins, and potin coins are found "exclusively in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces."⁶² The Purāṇas are agreed that Āpilaka⁶³ ruled for 12 years (*daśa dve* or *dvādaśa*) and that he was the son of Lambodara.

Hāla

From Āpilaka to Hāla (8th and 17th in the Purāṇic lists respectively), we have a period of absolute darkness, and the Purāṇic Sātavāhana kings between them are to us mere names. But it is probable that fresh evidence like the Āpilaka coin may not only confirm the order in the Purāṇic list but also open a vista into the period.

Hāla: Meaning of the name

The king is mentioned by his name in the Purāṇas, the *Sapta-śatakam*, *Līlāvati*, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, and *Deśināmāvalī*.⁶⁴ In the last two works mentioned, Hemacandra considers Hāla as a variation of Sālāhana and Sātavāhana. In the *Gāthāsaptasatī* the

61. YB of the AS of B, Vol. I, 1935, p. 28.

62. Rapson: *op. cit.*, clxxxiii.

63. The Sanskrit form as given in the Purāṇas is the same as the Prākṛt form on the coins.

Like sāmi Siri-Puṣumāvi, Āpilaka does not bear the name Sātakani. Unlike other Sātavāhana kings he has the prefix 'siva' in addition to 'siri' (Siva=auspicious).

64. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, V. 712.

king under mention is called Hāla, and Sātavāhana. Rājasekhara also calls him Hāla and Sātavāhana.⁶⁵ Hemacandra gives Kuntala and Cauricinda as synonyms of Hāla.⁶⁶ But we know from the Purāṇas that Kuntala and Hāla are the names of two different kings. On coins and inscriptions Sātakaṇi is abbreviated into Sāta, Sāti, Sada and Sātaka. No instance of the abbreviation of Sātavāhana is to be found. Hāla cannot then be a variation of Sātavāhana. It can therefore be considered as a variation of Sātakaṇi only. Sāta and Sāti are contractions of Sātakaṇi. The form Hātakaṇi occurs on coins; and *la* is sometimes used for *ta*. Sātakaṇi as a personal name is borne by many a king in the line.

The reign of Hāla introduces us to an epoch of literary activity. From inscriptions we know that the official language under the Sātavāhanas was Prākṛt. The works attributed to or to the time of Hāla show that the Sātavāhanas encouraged the use of Prākṛt in literature. In this respect they played a part opposite to the part played by the Kṣatrapas. Only in the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta at Nāsik and Kārḷā do we have a mixture of Sanskrit. The Sātavāhana son-in-law got some Sanskrit from his father-in-law, and his wife uses Sanskrit in her inscription at Kaṇhēri. But the official records of Gotamiputa and his son Puṣumāvi II at Nāsik and Kārḷā are in pure Prākṛt.⁶⁷

Gāthāsaptasatī (700 verses in seven chapters), an anthology of erotic verses in *Āryā* metre and in *Mahārāṣṭrī* Prākṛt is said to have been compiled by Hāla. Hāla evidently worked on the basis of an earlier anthology by a certain Kāvīvatśala and unified and embellished it considerably, retaining the names of the original composers in some cases, and adding other verses of his own. The work must have undergone several changes at other hands in subsequent times as its numerous recensions testify. But there is no doubt that its kernel dates from the first or second century A.D. and that it shows the previous existence of a considerable body of lyrical literature in *Mahārāṣṭrī* Prākṛt.⁶⁸ In the *maṅgaḷa* or introductory verse adoration is paid to Paśupati or Śiva. Although the verses are said to have been composed by Hāla alone, the commentator's notes men-

65. *Deśināmāvalī*, 8, 66.

66. *Ibid.*, ii, 36, iii, 7.

67. It is however to be noted that the Nāpeghāt record is not in pure Prākṛt as is often imagined. It is in mixed dialect, e.g., *prajapatino* (1.1), *apratihatacakrasa* (1.2), *bhāriya*, (1.4), and *caritabrahmacāriyāya*.

68. Verses 3, 698 and 709, ed. Weber.

tion the following poets as contributors to the work: Bodissa, Culluha, Amaraja, Kumārila, Makarandasena and Śrīrāja.⁶⁹ Verses from this work are quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the *Daśarūpaka*, in the *Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharana* and in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Bāṇa evidently refers to this work when he says "Sātavāhana made an immortal refined treasure (*kośa*) of song adorned with fine expressions of character like jewels."⁷⁰ Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* tells us of Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna who devoted himself to collecting the compositions of all great poets and wise men; he bought four *gāthās* for forty million gold pieces and had a book made which was a *kośa* of the *gāthās* that he had collected.⁷¹

Events of his reign

Līlāvatī throws some light on the events of Hāla's reign. A theme in the work is the military exploits of Hāla's Commander-in-chief Vijayanaṁda in Ceylon on behalf of his master. The king of the *Sriṅgala* *dvīpa* by name Sīlamegha had a daughter by name Līlāvatī by his *gāndhārva* wife Saraśrī. She lived near Sapta Godāvarī Bhīmara which is identified with modern Drāksārāma. After his military exploits Vijayanaṁda camped with his troops at Sapta Godāvarī Bhīmara, and came to learn all about Līlāvatī. After his return to the capital, he narrates the whole story to his king. Hāla then proceeds to the place, kills the demon Bhiṣānana and marries Līlāvatī. After visiting the residence of her father the count returned to Pratiṣṭhāna in Svabhukti *viṣaya*.

69. *Prā. Sprā. Sec. 13*; Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, III, pp. 97-103; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 223-5.

70. *Harṣacarita*, Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 2.

71. EHD, p. 241; JRAS, 1916, p. 819.

CHAPTER IV

THE LATER SĀTAVĀHANAS

(a) *Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani*

(i) *Metronymics*:—Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani is the first known Sātavāhana king to bear a metronymic.¹ If Sātakani of the Sāñcī inscription is a king later than the sixth in the Purāṇic lists the early Sātavāhanas would not seem to have borne metronymics. Nearly all the successors of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani, known to us through Kthic records, bear metronymics.² It may be noted at the outset that the Sātavāhana metronymics, like those in many primitive communities, were apparently an institution for regulation of marriages and not for descent of property, for the kingdom was, as is shown elsewhere, transmitted in the male line.³

The Sātavāhana metronymics are derived from Vedic *gotras*. Gotamīputa means the son of Gotamī or of a lady belonging to the Gotama *gotra*.⁴ Vāsīthūputa means the son of a Vāsīthi. Mādhari-puta means the son of a Mādhari.⁵ It has not been pointedly emphasized by scholars, that the Sātavāhanas and their successors in eastern Deccan, the Ikṣvākus, bear metronymics derived from only the three Vedic *gotras* mentioned above. The Ikṣvāku records offer an explanation for this curious feature. The institution of cross-cousin marriages especially with the father's sister's daughter was the cause. Occasionally a wife might be taken from a new

1. After the materials for a discussion of the views of Bühler and Cunningham had been collected and presented by me, D. R. Bhandarkar's criticism of the old theory appeared in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, pp. 30 ff. I have made use of a few of his ideas.

2. The exceptions are Rājān Sīvamaka Sada of an Amarāvati inscription and Puṣumāvi of the Myākadoni inscription.

3. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. III, p. 321.

4. EI, Vol. VIII, Nasik, No. 2.

5. The Sātavāhanas bear a personal name, or a surname, or both, along with the metronymics: Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani, Vāsīthūputa Caḍa Sātakani, Gotamīputa Siri-Yaṣa, etc. We cannot accept Prof. Bhandarkar's remark that he knows of no instance where the metronymic alone without the personal name is mentioned. In some Andher Stūpa inscriptions (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 680, 681, 682 and 683) Vāchīputa and Gotīputa occur unaccompanied by a personal name.

family, e.g., Vāsisthīputra Śrī-Sātakarni married the daughter of a Mahārāja of Ujjain, evidently a Western Kṣatrapa.

It is interesting to note that the feudatories and the successors of the Sātavāhanas in eastern Deccan also bear metronymics. An inscription at Kārlā belonging to the first century B.C., mentions a *Mahārāṣṭhi* Gotīputa.⁶ A *Mahābhōja* of the first century A.D. bears the metronymic Kocīputa.⁷ A *Mahārāṣṭhi* of the second century A.D. bears the metronymic Vāsisthīputa while his father bears the metronymic Kosikīputa.⁸ Abhīra Isvarasena of a Nāsik inscription bears the metronymic Mādhariputa.⁹ The Ikṣvākus bear the Sātavāhana metronymics.

Even as early as Vedic times people bear metronymics like Kausikīputra, Kautsīputra, Ālambīputra, and Vaiyagrahapadīputra.¹⁰ Pāli canonical literature calls Ajātasattu a *Vedehiputta*.¹¹ But it is from Malwa that we get a good crop of metronymics. Two inscriptions from Sāñci Stūpa III and an inscription from Satdhāra Stūpa II mention a saint Sārīputa.¹² In another Sāñci inscription an artisan under a Sātakarni is called Vāsisthīputa.¹³ In two inscriptions from the same place a Mogalīputa (*Maudgalyūputra*) and a Kosikīputa, both of whom are Buddhist saints, are mentioned. In a Barhut inscription of the second century B.C. a Vāsisthīputa Velāmitā is mentioned. In another inscription, which begins with 'Sugānam rāje. . . .', a king is called Gotīputa.¹⁴ But his father and son bear the Vedic gotra metronymics Gāgīputa and Vātsīputa. A Bēsnagar inscription reveals a Kāsīputa (*Kāsikīputra* or *Kāśīputra*) Bhāgabhadra, perhaps a ruler of Ujjain in the time of Antalkidas. It is also worthy of note that some Pītalkhōrā cave inscriptions of the third century B.C. mention a royal physician by

6. EI, Vol. VII, *Inscriptions from Karle*, No. 2.

7. CII, Vol. X, p. 17, No. 23.

8. EI, Vol. VII, *Inscriptions from Karle*, No. 14.

9. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 88 No. 15.

10. Vedic Index, Keith and Macdonell, q. v.

11. *Barhut Inscriptions*, Barua and Sinha, p. 2. 'Valdehi means 'one who belonged to Videha.'

12. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 665 and 667.

13. *Ibid.*, No. 346.

14. As has been suggested by Bühler Gotīputa is Sanskrit Gaupīputra, 'son of a lady of the Gupta race or clan.' Dr. Bhandarkar has suggested that Kotīputa of a Sonari Stupa II inscription (Lüders, No. 158) may be derived from 'Kota' the name of a ruling family whose coins have been found round about Delhi and in the eastern Punjab (EI, Vol. XXII, p. 35).

name Vachīputa (Vātsīputra) Magila.¹⁵ In the case of Malwa metronymics we are thus able to trace three classes of metronymics derived from (a) locality (b) race or clan (c) Vedic *gotras*; and these seem to be used as indifferently as Sātavāhana and non-Sātavāhana metronymics are used among *Mahārāṭhis* of western Deccan.

How did the institution of metronymics enter into the Sātavāhana family? As metronymics are borne by the later Sātavāhanas and not by the early Sātavāhanas, surely it is not the result of the change of father-kin into mother-kin.¹⁶ To go further we have only circumstantial evidence to depend upon. Like the early Sātavāhanas the early *Mahārāṭhis* bear no metronymics.¹⁷ Later *Mahārāṭhis* and later Sātavāhanas bear them, and the *Mahārāṭhis* and the Sātavāhanas were matrimonially connected. The *Mahātātavaras* who are feudatory nobles under the Ikṣvākus and are matrimonially connected with the latter, bear Ikṣvāku metronymics. The Ikṣvākus, originally servants of the Sātavāhanas, certainly got their metronymics from the Sātavāhanas, for do they not bear the Sātavāhana metronymics and are not metronymics quite foreign to the *Āndhradeśa*?¹⁸ The *Ābhīra* servants of the Sātavāhanas also bear metronymics. From these facts two conclusions emerge. The feudatory nobles under the Sātavāhanas bear Sātavāhana metronymics and the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus are matrimonially connected with their feudatories and with one another. In the case of the *Mahārāṭhis* it is not clear whether they gave it to the royal family, or got it from them; for, the first *Mahārāṭhi* to bear a metronymic would on palaeographical evidence have to be assigned to the first century B.C.¹⁹ But, in other cases it is clear that the Sātavāhanas transmitted their metronymics through the channel of marriage as the Ikṣvāku records unequivocally show.²⁰ The question then arises,

15. CTI, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7; Pl. xlv.

16. "Whereas a system of father-kin once established is perfectly stable never exchanged for mother-kin, the system of mother-kin is on the other hand unstable being constantly liable to be exchanged for father-kin." Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. IV, p. 31.

17. *Nāgaḥāt* Inscriptions.

18. The dynasties that succeeded the Ikṣvākus in the *Āndhradeśa* do not know metronymics.

19. Kārlā, *śmāṣṭambha* inscription.

20. It has not been noted that while in many cases metronymics and the father's name are mentioned (personal name or *gotra* name), e.g., in the *Barhut* inscription referred to above, in all the later Sātavāhana records,

could they not have got metronymics through the same channel? It has been shown, that the inscriptions of an early period in the Paithān region and in East and West Malwa, mention metronymics. West Malwa came under Sātavāhana sway in the first decades of the second century B.C., and East Malwa some time between 175 and 125 B.C. It may be that marriages between the Sātavāhana and Kṣatriya noble families, more probably in Malwa, gave these metronymics to the Sātavāhanas.

Bühler held that "the usage of calling sons after their mothers was caused not by polyandria as some Sanskritists have suggested but by the prevalence of polygamy, and it survives among the Rajputs to the present day" and that the surnames of the Sātavāhana queens which are derived from Vedic *gotras* and which form the metronymics borne by their children were originally the *gotras* of the Purohitas of the royal or noble families, from which the queens were descended and kings were affiliated to them for religious reasons as the *Śrautasūtras* indicate.

The title '*ekabrahmaṇasa*' applied to Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakarni²¹ and the adoption of metronymics derived from Vedic *gotras* need not mean that the Sātavāhanas were Brahmins. D. R. Bhandarkar objects to Senart's translation of '*ekabrahmaṇasa*' as 'the unique Brāhmaṇa,' and adopts that of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, i.e., '*ekabrahmaṇasya*', 'the only protector of Brahmins' and the epithet '*ekabrahmaṇasya*' applied to Viravarman on the Pīḍra grant and to Mādhavavarman in his Polamūru grant makes Bhandarkar's interpretation more acceptable. There is, however, no difficulty in looking upon even '*ekabrahmaṇasya*' as an eulogistic expression. That the Sātavāhanas were Kṣatriyas is shown by the fact that Gotamī Balasiri styles herself as one who fully worked out the ideal of Rājaraṣi's wife.²² According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa,²³ there are three kinds of *ṛṣis*, *Devārṣis*, 'sages who are demigods also', Brah-

the father's name is not mentioned at all. In Nāsik No. 2 Vāsīṭhīputa Puṣumāvi refers to his father in the expression *pūṣeṣiyo* (l.11) but does not mention his name. In the early Sātavāhana records, the father is mentioned, e.g. Nānēghāt inscription and the Nāsik inscription of the granddaughter of Mahā-Hakusiri. In the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions, ladies usually mention their mothers, brothers and nephews. Only twice is the father's name mentioned (Inscriptions, H & L.)

21. EI, Vol. VIII, Nāsik No. 2.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 60 t. 1. 10.

23. III, 6, 21; Muir: *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, p. 400a.

maṛṣis, 'sages who are sons of Brahmins' and Rājyaṣis, 'Kṣatriya princes who have adopted a life of devotion.' If the Sātavāhanas were Brahmins it would be difficult to explain the absence of gotra name in their early records especially in the Nāṣeḡhāt record which gives an account of the sacrifices performed by a Sātavāhana king and queen.²⁴

It may be pointed out that this theory is contradicted by the expression 'khatiya dapa madanasa' applied to Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi in Nāsik No. 2 itself. According to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar²⁵ 'Khatiya' (Kṣatriya) refers not to the Kṣatriya caste but to a tribe, the Xathroi of Arrian, placed on the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, and the Kṣatriyas of Kautīlyā, Manu *Smṛti* and Ptolemy. In his Girnār inscription Rudradāman refers to the reinstatement of deposed kings and the defeats he inflicted on the contemporary Sātakaṇi. If these were the descendants of feudatories of Nahapāna dethroned by Gautamīputra, might not 'khatiya' of the Nāsik record refer to the Kṣatriya princes deposed by Gautamīputra?²⁶

The results of the foregoing discussion may be summarised as follows:—The Sātavāhanas were Kṣatriyas and bore the gotras of their mothers. They got this institution of tracing descent by mothers through intermarriages with Kṣatriya families in certain localities. The system was one for the regulation of marriages and not for descent of property. The system of cross-cousin marriages explains the occurrence of only a few gotra names along with the Sātavāhana names.

24. In Jain legends Sātavāhana is made the son of a Brahmin virgin girl and Śeṣa. JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 127.

25. EI, Vol. XXII, p. 53.

26. In some recensions of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Śūdra heads the list of Andhra kings, instead of Simuka; this is obviously a mistake, for the numerous sacrifices performed by Sātakaṇi preclude us from looking upon Sātavāhanas as Śūdras, for according to Manu, the Veda is never to be read in the presence of a Śūdra (iv, 99) and for him no sacrifice is to be performed (iii, 78).

Brahmins also bear metronymies. The Buddhist teacher Vasubandhu, the son of a Brahmin of the Kausika family, was named Bi-lu-ci Vāsa. Bi-lu-ci was his mother's name and 'vāsa' signifies 'son' (IA, Vol. IV, p. 143). Two inscriptions from Malavalli (Lüders, List Nos. 1195 and 1196) mention Kosikiputa Siri-Nāḡadatta of the Kondaṃāna family and of the Kaundinya gotra and Hāritiputa Kondaṃāna of the Kaundinya gotra. In a Nāsik record (Lüders, List, No. 1131), a Brahmin is called a Vārāhi-putra.

(ii) *Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi and the Kṣaharātas*²⁷

In Nāsik No. 2 Gotamīputa is spoken of as the destroyer of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas and as the exterminator of the 'Khakharāta-raṣa'. The Jogalthembī hoard has brought to light numerous coins of Kṣaharāta Nahapāna, $\frac{2}{3}$ of which have been restruck by Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi. Nāsik No. 4 and Kārlā No. 19 show him as engaged in conquests.²⁸ The Sātavāhana records at Nāsik and Kārlā show that the Nāsik and Poona Districts, Akara, Avantī, Kukura, Suratha and Anūpa countries which, on epigraphical and numismatic evidence, would seem to have been included in Nahapāna's kingdom, were conquered by Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi.

Kṣaharāta invades into Sātavāhana dominions

According to tradition preserved in the Kālakācārya Kathānaka, the Śaka invasion of Western India and Ujjain took place some years before the Vikrama era.²⁹ After some time the Śakas are said to have been driven from Ujjain by Vikramāditya, only to return in 78 A.D. The identification of the Śakas of the Kālakā legends with the Kṣaharātas is rendered difficult by the fact that while the son-in-law of Nahapāna is called a Śaka, Nahapāna and Bhūmaka are nowhere so called. Says Rapson,³⁰ "It is possible . . . that the Kṣaharātas may have been Pahlavas and the family of Castana Śakas." But that they were "of foreign, i.e. non-Indian nationality is certain."³¹ In later Indian tradition they might have figured as Śakas, much like the Kuṣānas. But it is highly improbable that the Kṣaharātas are included in the 18 Śakas figuring in the Purāṇas as the successors of the Andhra Sātavāhanas; these eighteen Śaka rulers are doubtless the kings of the Castana line who ruled up to the time when the earliest *Matsya* account was closed according to Pargiter, C. 255 A.D.³²

27. Chaharada, Chaharata, Khaharāta, Khakharāta are various Prākṛt forms of Kṣaharāta.

28. The Nāsik and Kārlā inscriptions of Usavādāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, the Jogalthembī hoard and Bhūmaka's coins. Also Junnar inscription of Ayama, minister of Mahākṣatrapa Nahapāna, Lüders, List, No. 1145.

29. CII, Vol. II, xxvi, xxvii. Says Sten Konow, "I cannot see the slightest reason for discrediting this account as is usually done."

30. *Op. cit.*, civ.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Vide infra.*

Bhūmaka

The earliest known member of the dynasty of Nahapāna is *Kṣatrapa Bhūmaka*, known to us from coins only. According to Rapson, considerations of type and fabric of coins and of the nature of the coin legends leave no room for doubting that Bhūmaka preceded Nahapāna. There is, however, no evidence to show the relationship between them. But the forms of Brāhmī and Karoṣṭhī letters on their coins make a long interval impossible. According to Bhagavanlal Indraji, the fact that Nahapāna's coins are found in 'the coasting regions of Gujerat, Kathiawad and sometimes in Mālwa' proves the Kṣaharāta conquest of Mālwa from the Sātavāhanas and the establishment of Kṣaharāta power in western India. One coin of Bhūmaka comes from Puṣkar near Ajmer.³³

Nahapāna

On coins he bears the title *rājan*, and in inscriptions those of *Kṣatrapa* and *Mahākṣatrapa*. The inscriptions of his time, his coins and his titles prove the extension of Kṣaharāta power over fresh territory³⁴ including north Mahārāstra, the heart of the Sātavāhana empire. The Sātavāhana power must have been confined to the territory around and to the east of Paithān. We do not know how far Nahapāna succeeded in the south, though it seems probable that portions of southern Mahārāstra passed under his sway and had to be reconquered by Gautamīputra. The *Periplus* has preserved something of the Kṣaharāta-Sātavāhana struggle in the statements, that the Kingdom of Mambanes³⁵ (Nambenus—Nahapāna) began with Ariake and that the Greek ships coming into the Sātavāhana port of Kalyān were diverted to Barygaza.³⁶

33. Rapson: *op. cit.*, p. 64; CAI, p. 6. Pl. 1.4.

34. *Vide supra*.

35. JRAS, 1916, pp. 836-37. Kennedy says, "the MS is so illegible that it is impossible to restore his (the ruler of Ariake's) name with any confidence. It has been read as Manbaros, Mamboros, and Mambanos. Fabricius says that only the final letters (Barou) are certain. Boyer proposed to read Nambanos, and in an essay full of learning and acuteness identified him with Nahapāna " (JA, July-Aug. 1897, pp. 120-51) Kennedy thinks that like Pandion and Kerebotros the name of the ruler of Ariake may be a general designation. But Sandanes (Sundara) and Saraganes (Satakarni) are personal names. Dr. Fleet has shown how Nahapāna could have been misread into Mambanes (JRAS, 1907, p. 1043 n. 2).

36. Schoff: *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 43 and 52.

(iii) *Comparative Chronology of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi and Nahapāna*

Prof. Rapson refers the dates in Nahapāna's inscriptions (years 41, 42, 45 and 46) to the Śaka era (78 A.D.). According to him the evidence of Nahapāna's coins restruck by Gotamīputa Sīri-Sātakaṇi, Nāsik No. 2 and Nāsik No. 4 issued from a victorious camp, and the ascertained date (Ś. 72) of Rudradāman show that Gotamīputa was the conqueror of Nahapāna. " . . . it would seem improbable that Nahapāna's reign could have extended much beyond the last recorded year 46=124 A.D. Gautamīputra's conquest of Nahapāna seems undoubtedly . . . to have taken place in the 18th year of his reign. We therefore have the equation:—Gautamīputra's year 18=124 A.D., or 124 A.D.+x. On this synchronism, on the recorded regnal dates in the inscription of other Andhra sovereigns, and on the known date 72=150 A.D. of Rudradāman as Mahākṣatrapa rests at present the whole foundation of the later Andhra chronology."³⁷

Cunningham proposed to refer the dates in Uṣavadāta's and Ayama's inscriptions to the Vikrama era; Rapson objects to it and quotes, "the empirical remark" of Kielhorn that "in the majority of the Śaka dates the term year is rendered by varṣa" and that in "the inscription of the Western Kṣatrapas . . . the word for 'year' everywhere is varṣa . . ."³⁸

It may be noted here that the unit figure in Kārī No. 19 read as 8, by Rapson has been read as 4 by Bühler. Senart thinks that it may be any number between 4 and 9.³⁹ A study of the inscription from the stone itself and of an impression of it taken by me, shows that 7 is more probable than any other figure. No doubt it would then be a later form of the symbol for seven. But it is certainly not 8 as assumed by Rapson or 4 as read by Bühler since it is quite unlike the symbols for 8 and 4.⁴⁰ This would show that Gautamīputra's conquests were accomplished at least in part in or before the year 17.

Since Rapson wrote, the Andhra inscriptions of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman's time (year 52) have been studied and edited by

37. *Op. cit.*, xxvii.

38. *IA*, Vol. XXVI, p. 153.

39. *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 65.

40. The symbol for 4 appears in the same inscription.

scholars like D. R. Bhandarkar and R. D. Banerji.⁴¹ The Andhau inscriptions shatter the theory of the Gotamīputa-Nahapāna synchronism. Scholars are not agreed as to whether the inscriptions should be referred to the joint reign of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman, or the reign of Rudradāman. In all the four inscriptions we have: '*Raño Caṣṭanaśa Ysāmōtika-putrasa, raño Rudradāmasa Jayadāmasa putrasa vasa* 52 . . . ' Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar originally thought that *putrasa* (which the construction would not allow us to insert) had been omitted. But later⁴² he states that "Mr. R. C. Majumdar of the Calcutta University has kindly offered the suggestion that the date had better be referred to the conjoint reign of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman." R. D. Banerji objects: "Apart from the possibility of such an event in India, nobody having ever thought or tried to prove conjoint reigns of two monarchs except Messrs Bhandarkar, there is sufficient evidence in the Andhau inscriptions themselves to prove that the author of the record was quite ignorant as to the exact relationship between Chāshtana and Rudradāman . . . the Andhau inscriptions are the only records known which mention Chāshtana or Rudradāman as *Rājās* and not as *Mahā-Kṣatrapas*, The only possible explanation of this is that in a remote place like Andhau on the Rann of Cutch the people were not aware of the new titles of the new dynasty of rulers, titles on which Rudradāman set great store. . . . The cause of the absence of any word or phrase indicating the relationship between Chāshtana and Rudradāman now becomes clear."⁴³ There is many a weak link in this argument. In the genealogical portion in all other inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas of the Caṣṭana line, the great-grandfather is mentioned first, then the grandfather, then the father and then the son. In the Andhau inscription the names of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman precede those of their fathers. One cannot believe that the people of Cutch who knew the relationship between Ysāmōtika who does not seem to have been even a Kṣatrapa and Caṣṭana did not know the relationship between the latter and Jayadāman. On his coins Nahapāna is known as '*rājan*' only. Does it mean that the people were ignorant of his titles of Kṣatrapa and *Mahākṣatrapa* which he bears in the inscriptions of his son-in-law and minister? The objection to the joint rule of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman does not seem to be well taken; for as Rapson has observed: "Among the later Western Kṣatrapas we find

41. JBBRAS, Vol. XXXIII; EI, Vol. XVI, pp. 19ff.; A.R. for 1915.

42. IA, Vol. XLVII, p. 154 n. 26.

43. EI, Vol. XVI, pp. 22-23.

the father and son ruling concurrently as Mahākṣatrapa and Kṣatrapa." This would explain why Jayadāman bears only the title of Kṣatrapa.⁴⁴

If then Caṣṭana was a Mahākṣatrapa in the year 52 (130 A.D.) with Rudradāman as Kṣatrapa, he must have been a Mahākṣatrapa during the reign of his son Jayadāman as Kṣatrapa. As on the testimony of the coins Caṣṭana was a Kṣatrapa for some time, if Nahapāna's dates are referred to the Śaka era, a three years' interval between Nahapāna and Caṣṭana is the utmost that can be postulated. Even taking for granted that Nahapāna was defeated in year 46 itself (124-25 A.D.), we are led to the paradoxical conclusion that a year after the rooting out of Khakharāta race and the destruction of the Śakas, Pahlavas and Yavanas, Caṣṭana was on the scene avenging Śaka defeat.⁴⁵ The Nāsik record of Balasiri which mentions in such glorious terms Gotamiputa's conquests of Anūpa, Akara, Avanti, Surāṣṭra, Kukura, Asaka and Muḷaka would become a record of a fleeting conquest. Was then the 'Sātavāhanakulaya-śaṣṭatīṣṭhāpana' referred to in an inscription incised 25 years after the event such a shortlived glory?⁴⁶ Ptolemy's (139 A.D.) statement that Ozēne was the capital of Tiastanes (Caṣṭana), and the Andhau inscriptions which show that Cutch was in possession of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman in 130 A.D., are clear proofs of the re-establishment of Śaka power in the lands between Mālwā and Cutch at least.⁴⁷ It has been pointed out by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

44. Rapson's view that between the reigns of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman there was an interval during which there was no Mahākṣatrapa and that this may have been the result of a defeat, is no doubt partly based upon the fact that Jayadāman bears only the title of Kṣatrapa.

45. The theory by Bühler in JRAS 1890 that Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were contemporaries was abandoned by him later. ASWI, Vols. IV and V.

46. Says Rapson, *op cit.*, xxxvii: "Rudradāman's conquest took place c. 150 A.D., and before the 19th year of Puṣyamāvi. The inscription of Balasiri seems to be a record of glory which has only recently passed away."

47. R. D. Banerji (JRAS, 1917, pp. 286-87) not only holds with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBRS, Vol. XXIII, pp. 68-9) that Rudradāman had conquered all the dominions mentioned in the Gīrnār *prastāva* before Ś. 52, but also says that it would not have been possible for Rudradāman to conquer Aparānta (N. Konkan) without conquering north Mahārāṣṭra (Nāsik and Poona districts). We cannot subscribe to these views. The former lacks conclusive proof. The identification of Muḷaka and Asmaka with N. Mahārāṣṭra, and the absence of their mention in the Gīrnār *prastāva* are conclusive arguments against the latter.

that there is nothing in the inscriptions of Puṣumāvi's time to show that his dominions had shrunk so much in their area as the Andhau and Girnār inscriptions would show. The silver coin of Vāsīthīputa [Hi]ru Hātakaṇi (or ni), (Siri-Sātakaṇi) which like similar coins of Siri-Yaṇa would seem to have been current in Aparānta, and the Kaṇhēri inscription of Rudradāman's daughter, prove that Aparānta was held by the son-in-law of Rudradāman, a successor of Puṣumāvi.

The chronological scheme of Rapson requires that Vāsīthīputa sāmi Siri-Puṣumāvi should be the son-in-law of Rudradāman and the Sātakaṇi of the Girnār inscription twice defeated in fair fight by him. I was fortunate enough to trace in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, a silver coin of Vāsīthīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi; this closely imitates as regards type, size and weight the silver coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas. And we have the Kaṇhēri inscription of Vāsīthīputa Sātakaṇi's queen, the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudra(dāman). These make it difficult for us to identify a king who, on coins and in inscriptions, is called Sātakaṇi, with Puṣumāvi who does not bear the surname Sātakaṇi either in inscriptions or on coins. He must therefore be a successor of Puṣumāvi. In the Purāṇic lists Śivaśrī, the Vāsīthīputa siva Siri-Sātakaṇi of the coins, figures as the successor of Puṣumāvi (perhaps his brother). As 'siva' and 'siri' are honorific prefixes, no insuperable difficulty is involved in the identification of Vāsīthīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi with Vāsīthīputa siva Siri-Sātakaṇi. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has rightly pointed out that it is improbable that Puṣumāvi, who according to Ptolemy was a contemporary of Caṣṭana, married the latter's great grand-daughter.

The Sātakaṇi of the Girnār inscription

As Rudradāman is said to have defeated Sātakaṇi not distantly related to him *sambandhāvidūreṇa* (ratayā), the Girnār Sātakaṇi is to be sought for in one of the successors of siva Siri-Sātakaṇi, not far removed from the latter in point of time. In the Purāṇic lists Śivaskanda Sātakaṇi (the Sivamaka Sada of an Amarāvati inscription) and Siri-Yaṇa figure as his successors. The difficulty in identifying the Girnār Sātakaṇi with Siri-Yaṇa is that Puṣumāvi would then have to be placed between 86 and 110 A.D., while the contemporaneity of Caṣṭana and Puṣumāvi mentioned by Ptolemy would bring Puṣumāvi to 130 A.D. at least. So the Girnār Sātakaṇi must be Sivamaka (Śivaskanda) Sātakaṇi, probably a brother or nephew of siva Śrī-Sātakaṇi. Working

backwards with the ascertained regnal periods of these Śātavāhana kings we get the following scheme of chronology :—

Gotamīputa Sātākarni	... 82—106 A.D.
Vāsīthīputa Puṣumāvi	... 107—131 A.D.
Śiva Śrī-Sātākarni	... 132—145 A.D.
Sivamaka Sada	... 146—153 A.D.

It now becomes still more impossible to place Nahapāna between 119 and 124 A.D.

Then how are the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law and minister to be interpreted? In 1908 R.D. Banerji revived a point⁴⁸ made by Prof. Bhandarkar years before that Uṣavadāta's inscriptions are palaeographically earlier than that of Śodāsa of the year 72, and added, 'it is extremely probable that as Nahapāna is prior to Śodāsa the dates in his inscriptions refer to the era in which the dates in the inscriptions of the Northern satraps are dated.' Subsequently⁴⁹ he refers these dates to the regnal years of Nahapāna. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has lately revived Cunningham's theory⁵⁰ that Nahapāna's dates must be referred to the Vikrama era. His arguments are as follows:

The letters of Uṣavadāta's inscriptions resemble those of the inscription of the Northern Satrap Śodāsa and Bühler admits that in the former southern peculiarities are wanting. The discus, arrow and thunderbolt on the coins of Nahapāna and Bhūmaka remind us (as V.A. Smith has pointed out) of the coins of Hagāna and Hagāmāsa, the Northern Satraps. In EI. Vol. XIV, Dr. Sten Konow has referred the year in Śodāsa's record to the Vikrama era. Rev. H. R. Scott has observed that the letters on the coins of Nahapāna belong to the near middle of the period from 350 B.C. to 350 A.D. "... the state of Kharosthi on Nahapāna's coins... seems now to secure for him a place distinctly earlier than Caṣṭana." The Uṣavadāta *bha*, *va*, and *sa*, *a* and *ka* with longer verticals than those of Śodāsa *a* and *ka*, the more angular *ja*, *da* with better curved back and the ornate *i* sign, show that Uṣavadāta alphabet was later than Śodāsa alphabet. Conclusions based on similarity of alphabets and the northern affinities of Nahapāna's family cannot be final; as Sten Konow has observed, "We do not know for certain in which era the Śodāsa inscription of Saṁ 72 is dated. I do not think it can be the same as

48. IA. Vol. XXXVII, p. 43.

49. JRAS, 1917, p. 285.

50. *Op. cit.*, pp. 650 ff.

in the Taxila plate of Sam 78. I think that Patika, who issued that record, is identical with the Mahakshatrapa Padika of the Mathurā lion capital which mentions Sudāsa, i.e., Śōdāsa as Kshatrapa." A comparison of coin legends with stone inscriptions cannot yield safe conclusions. The palaeography of the Andhra inscriptions renders an interval of more than 160 years between the Gīrnār inscription and the inscription of Uṣavadāta, as Prof. Nilakanta Sastri would postulate, too long. Noteworthy are the form of a *ka ra* and *pa* which approach those of Uṣavadāta alphabet. The state of Kharoṣṭhī on Caṣṭana's coins does not point to a long interval between them, for, as on Nahapāna's coins, and on the silver coins struck by Caṣṭana as Kṣatrapa, Kharoṣṭhī is used to transliterate the Brāhmī legends in full. It is only on coins struck by Caṣṭana as *Mahākṣatrapa* that Kharoṣṭhī shows decline—it is used only for the genitive of the king's name. This fact points to a rapid decline of Kharoṣṭhī rather than to a long interval.⁵¹

The development of the Brāhmī alphabet in the Nāsik and Poona districts in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. makes a long interval between Nahapāna and Gautamīputra highly improbable. According to Bühler there is a striking similarity between the alphabet of the Nāsik inscriptions of Gautamīputra Sātakaṇi and Uṣavadāta.⁵² Prof. Nilakanta Sastri rejoins 'it is a similarity which is only to be expected if the area of their location had been ruled by the Khakharātas for some time before Gautamīputra recovered it for the Sātavāhanas.'⁵³ The Nāsik alphabet of Puṣumāvi's time especially *ca*, *ja*, *da*, *na*, and *ṇa*, (with a slightly curved base), *ta*, *bha*, *ya*, *ka* (with a notch at the left), which is more developed than the alphabet of Gotamīputra Sātakaṇi's inscriptions, deprives this argument of its force. The Nāsik inscriptions of Gotamīputra Sirī-Yaṇa Sātakaṇi only three generations later than those of Gotamīputra Sātakaṇi show letters of the ornate type. The Kārlā inscription attributed to Gotamīputra Sātakaṇi is not only engraved immediately below that of Uṣavadāta, but also shows only slightly developed forms over those of Uṣavadāta's inscription (e.g., *ta*, *pa*, *bhi*, *va*, *ra* and *ma*). In the inscriptions of the time of Puṣumāvi

51. According to Rapson on the copper coins of Nahapāna, only the name Nahapāna in Brāhmī legend can be deciphered. "It is uncertain whether or not this was accompanied by an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters." *Op. cit.*, cix.

52. *IA.*, xxxiii, App. Ind. Pal. pp. 42-43.

53. *JRAS*, 1926, p. 652.

the ornamental type has appeared.⁵⁴ The quick and distinct development from Gotamīputa to Puṣumāvi of the alphabets at Kārlā and Nāsik does not allow us to place a long interval between Nahapāna and Gotamīputa.

The Jogalthembi coins of Nahapāna, more than two-thirds of which are restruck by Gotamīputa, point to the same conclusion. If Gotamīputa defeated a remote successor of Nahapāna, we would have found in the hoard, coins of Nahapāna's successors restruck by Gotamīputa. The coins of Bhūmaka show, that among the Kṣaharātas other princes than Nahapāna, if they existed, would have struck coins; and there is more point in restriking the coins of the vanquished ruler rather than those of a remote predecessor of his.

The village of Karājaka which is granted by Gotamīputa to the monks of the Kārlā caves is surely the Karājaka granted to them previously by Uṣavadāta. Nāsik No. 4 records the grant of a field in western Kakhaḍi, a field which was held by Uṣavadāta. Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji look upon *ajakālakiyam* in the phrase '*ya khetam ajakālakiyam Uṣabhadataṁ bhūtam*' as a Prakṛt form of *ajakāla* (Sans. *adyakāla*) and translate 'the field which has been possessed by Ṛṣabhadata up to the present time.' Senart looks upon it as the name of the field.⁵⁵

Lüders' No. 795 where Ajakālaka is the name of Yakṣa makes Senart's suggestion extremely probable. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri denies that the Uṣavadāta of No. 4, the possessor of a single field, was the Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna. But it is not impossible that Uṣavadāta held all the fields in the village and that Gotamīputa gave one field to the monks retaining the rest for himself.⁵⁶

54. EI, Vol. VII, Pl. III, No. 29.

55. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 72.

56. It is, however, risky to look upon Uṣavadāta as a rare name, and identify all the Uṣavadātas of epigraphic records with the son-in-law of Nahapāna. 'Datta' as a name ending is very common and 'Ṛṣabha' often enters into the composition of names (EI, vol. XVI, p. 24; Lüders, *List*, Nos. 56, 69a). A Śailārwaḍi inscription (Śailārwaḍi is near Kārlā) mentions Uṣabhanaka native of Dhenukākata.

An inscription on a pillar of the Kārlā Cetiya cave records the donation of a pillar by Mitadevanaka, son of Uṣavadāta from Dhenukākata. According to Senart, the 'mita' in the name of the donor and that of Ṛṣabhadata's wife (i.e., Dakṣamitrā) supplies "a link which may perhaps connect

The guiding points in the determination of Kṣaharāta chronology are the short-lived reigns of Nos. 18, 19, 20 and 21 in the Purāṇic lists of the Āndhras (44-54 A.D.) and reference to Mambanes in the *Periplus*; the kingdom of Mambanes (corrected by Schoff into Nambanus and identified with Nahapāna) is said to have begun with Ariake, which according to Lassen would represent the territory on either side of the gulf of Cambay. Scholars like K. P. Jayaswal have challenged this identification.⁵⁷ But as Nahapāna is known to have ruled over Surāṣṭra and as the seaboard of the kingdom of Mambanes was, according to the *Periplus*, Surastrene, and as the capital of Nambanus, viz., 'Minnagara' also shows Scythian or Śaka associations (Min=Scythian) this identification is highly probable, and Schoff has shown that a consideration of the authorities Roman, Parthian and Arabian fully supports 60 A.D. for the *Periplus*, and Nahapāna would seem to have been ruling 22 years before the accession of Gautamīputra Śrī-Sātakarṇi.

The question whether Nahapāna's dates should be referred to an era or to his regnal years, is not then so important as it might be if we had no independent grounds to fix his date. The old view that it is dangerous to assume the existence of eras other than the Vikrama and Śaka eras is not accepted by Dr. Sten Konow.⁵⁸ The years may then refer to an era which started somewhere in the closing years of the first century B.C., or in the beginning of the first century A.D. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has admirably met Rapson's objection to referring the 'vase dates' to any other than the Śaka era. He says, ".....it must be noted that there are very few dates in these records, and even among these few, we are unable to trace any consistency in the manner of dating. An important inscription at Nasik is undated; only the year and month is mentioned in another, though the day of the month is also added elsewhere in the same inscription. The use of *varsha* for year does not seem to have been so rare in early dates that are not in the Śaka era."⁵⁹ R. D. Banerji's view that these dates must be referred to the regnal years of Nahapāna is supported by

them." The absence of the usual epithets applied to Nahapāna's son-in-law makes the Uṣavadāta of this inscription a different person. The pillar inscription and the Cetiya cave would seem to belong to the first century B.C.

57. JBORS, 1932, p. 9.

58. CH, Vol. II, Introduction.

59. Op. cit., p. 656.

the numerous coins of Nahapāna and by the tradition preserved in the *Paṭṭavaḷi Gāthas* and Jinasena's *Harivamśa* which assign a period 40 and 42 years respectively to Naravāhana (a corruption of Nahapāna).⁶⁰ Rapson makes Nahapāna a feudatory of the Kuṣāṇas, on the strength of the mention, in a Nāsik inscription of Uṣavadāta, of *suvarṇas* which according to him must refer to the gold currency of the Kuṣāṇas "which we must suppose to have been current or prevalent in Nahapāna's kingdom."⁶¹ But *suvarṇa* as a coin was prevalent in India as early as the Vedic times;⁶² the *suvarṇa* under reference need not necessarily refer to the gold currency of the Kuṣāṇas.

Prof. Bhandarkar⁶³ has advanced another argument for connecting Nahapāna with the Kuṣāṇas. To him the Kuṣāṇa of Nāsik No. 12, "appears to have been (the name) given to the silver coinage of Nahapāna, because he issued it for his overlord who must have been known as Kuṣāṇa i.e., Kushana." He continues "Was there any Kushana king who was also known by the mere name Kushana? Certainly this must be the Kushana sovereign referred to in the Taxila scroll inscription of the year 136..... I have elsewhere shown that he can be no other than Kujula Kadphises, or Kadphises I as he is also known." Apart from the objections to *kuṣāṇa* being a form of Kuṣāṇa or Guṣāṇa, the sense of the passage does not admit of Bhandarkar's interpretation. In line 2 *civarika* and *kuṣāṇamūla* are mentioned together as the purpose for which the money was invested in a guild. In line 3 we have '*civarika-sahasrāṇi* be 2000 *ye padike sate eto mama leṇe vassouthāna bhikkhunam viśāya ekikasa civarika bārasaka, yā sahasra prayutaṇ pāyūnapadike sate ato kuṣāṇamūla*.' But though the evidence cited for Kuṣāṇa overlordship over Nahapāna cannot be relied upon, the chronological scheme adopted here makes Kuṣāṇa overlordship not improbable (Kujula Kadphises 50-75 A.D.).

60. Rapson remarks (*Op. cit.*, cx): "Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī supposed that the portraits of the Nahapāna on the silver coins indicated a very long reign; but now that a vast number of specimens are available for comparison, it is clear that no such conclusion can be safely drawn from these representations of the king's head..... They cannot possibly have been portraits, in the true sense of the word, of any single individual....."

61. *CIC, Andhras and Western Kāstrapas*, clxxv.

62. *Vedic Index*, Keith and Macdonell, *Suvarṇa* Yajña q. v.

63. *IA*, Vol. XLVII, p. 76.

- (iv) *Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi cannot be identified with Gotamīputa Viṣivāyakura of the coins*

A number of lead and copper coins from Kolhāpur have revealed to us the names of 3 princes: on the evidence of restruct coins, the order would be as follows:

Vāsīthīputa Viṣivāyakura
Māḍharīputa Sivalakura
Gotamīputa Viṣivāyakura.

The current theories about these princes are far from being satisfactory. Says Rapson,⁶⁴ Viṣivāyakura and Sivalakura "are probably local titles in the dialect of the district of Kolhapur . . . The question remains whether these peculiar titles are to be regarded as the designations of members of the imperial Andhra Dynasty or of viceroys governing the district of Kolhapur. Although the question cannot be decided with certainty, the former view is perhaps the more probable, since there is some evidence to show that Andhra monarchs were known by different titles in the different divisions of their empire (cf. *sup.* § 48, 50)." Long ago Sir R. G. Bhandarkar said that Viṣivāyakura and Sivalakura are names of the feudatories whilst the metronymics are those of their suzerains.⁶⁵ The metronymics attached to the names of *Mahārathis* are not those of their suzerains—the Sātavāhanas.⁶⁶ The father of a *Mahārathi* who dates his inscription in the regnal years of Vāsīthīputa sāmī Siri-Puṣumāvi, bears a metronymic not borne by the Sātavāhanas viz., Kosikīputa. 'Kura' as a name appears in Bhattīprōlu. Sivala as the name of a queen occurs in one of Barhut inscriptions,⁶⁷ and at Amarāvati we come across an *upāsikā* Sivalā. *La* is a common ending in names, e.g., Bhādila, Bhāyila, Droṇala, Sivakhādila, Buddhila, Sarpila, and Rudrila;⁶⁸ *Vilavāṇaka* is the name of a village.⁶⁹ Regarding Ptolemy's mention of Puṣumāvi of Paithān and Baleokuros of Hippokura (identified by R. G. Bhandarkar with Viṣivāyakura), Rapson remarks that his Siri-Puṣumāvi and Viṣivāyakura might be one and the same person. "A foreigner might be excused for not knowing, that in our own country, the Prince

64. lxxxvii-lxxxviii.

65. EHD, 1927, p. 30.

66. Kārlā No. 14, EI, vol. VIII.

67. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Barhut* p. 131; Lüders, *List*, No. 1268.

68. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 125a, 149a, 1124, 1247, 1292 and 1054.

69. EI, Vol. XV, pp. 41 and 43.

of Wales, the Earl of Chester and the Duke of Cornwall were the same person." But Ptolemy mentions the capital 'Hippokura' (a 'kura' ending in the name of the capital too!), which has been identified by Bhagwanlal Indraji with the modern Godabandar. To accuse a contemporary of ignorance we require strong proofs. In seeking to identify these princes with the Sātavāhana rulers Rapson places too much reliance on metonymies, yet we know that the Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku metonymies were borne by their feudatories, the *Mahārathis* and the *Mahātala-varas*. Rapson's identification upsets the order of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi and Vāsithīputa Pulumāvi among the Viṣṇūyākuras; and Mādhariputa Sivalakura has no place between Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi and Pulumāvi in the Purāṇic lists.⁷⁰ Prof. Rapson himself points out that the Ujjain symbol which is employed by all the later Sātavāhanas on all their coins is not found on the Kolhāpur coins⁷¹ and that the 'bow and arrow' on these coins is nowhere found on the Sātavāhana coins. To a certain extent the type (the tree within railing) and size of these coins (lead) resemble those of the Cūṭa and Mahārathi coins.

The pieces of evidence which make it probable that they were feudatories of the Sātavāhanas are that one of the Viṣṇūyākuras was a contemporary of Pulumāvi, that Gotamīputa's dominions extended as far south as Vaijayantī and that they used Sātavāhana metonymies. The title 'rājan' does not prevent them from having been feudatories, for Nahapāna, who was undoubtedly a feudatory, bears the title 'rājan'.

(c) *Gotamīputa's empire*

To return to Gotamīputa, he would seem to have wrested from the Kṣaharītas not only the ancestral dominions, but something more. The epithet '*Sātavāhana-kula-yasa-patithāpana-kara*' applied to him is no idle boast, for before his reign, the Sātavāhana power would seem to have suffered considerable loss of territories. According to Rapson, the countries which are mentioned in Nāsik No. 2 as having been under his sway, "in no way represent the extent of his empire." "The names themselves are those of the kingdoms which had submitted to Gautamīputra".⁷² Rapson is evidently thinking of the Andhradeśa. Not all the conquered kingdoms would seem to have been mentioned, e.g., S. Mahārāṣṭra as far south

70. *Op. cit.*, xl.

71. *Op. cit.*, clxvi-clxviii.

72. *Op. cit.*, xxxv, xxxvi.

as Vaijyanti (Nāsik No. 4 speaks of the Vejayanti army as 'senāye Vejayantiye'). Even so the extent of his kingdom is indicated by the mountains of which he is said to have been the lord—the western and eastern portions of the Vindhya range (Vijha and Pāricāta), the Satpura hills extending through the middle of Berar nearly into west Bengal (Achavata), the northern and southern portions of the Western Ghāts (Sahya and Malaya respectively). There is then no epigraphic evidence to show that Gautamīputra's sway extended over the Āndhradeśa.⁷³ The reference to his chargers having drunk the waters of three oceans need not necessarily mean that his kingdom extended from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal.⁷⁴ The most important countries mentioned are Asaka, Muḷaka⁷⁵ (Northern Mahārāṣṭra) Asika, Kukura (Eastern

73. A life-size statue of a person, in the Madras Museum Amarāvati collections, holding a lotus in the left hand, bears the inscription *Gotamī nama* (o*). From the dress we can infer that it is not a statue of the Buddha. Even supposing that the inscription records an adoration to Gotamī, the mother of Gotamīputra Sīri-Sātakani, it is possible that during the reign of Vāsīṭhiputa sīmī Sīri-Puṣpavati (when the Amarāvati Stūpa underwent alterations and perhaps enlargement) a statue of Gotamīputra Sīri-Sātakani was set up; and from Nāsik No. 2 (in which both grandson and grandmother have eulogised Gotamīputra Sīri-Sātakani) we know that Gotamī Balasri was living in the 19th year of her grandson's reign.

74. In Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (Trans. Cowell and Thomas) the Sātavāhana contemporary of Bhikkū Nāgārjuna is styled "lord of the three oceans" (p. 252).

75. In the *Śena-Nanda Jātaka* (Fausboll, Vol. V, pp. 317, 24; and 318, 6), Assaka and Avanti are mentioned together (*Assakāvantim; Assakāvantim ti Assaka raṭṭham va Avantiraṭṭham va* etc.). For the precise identification of Asaka (Sans. *Āsmaka* not *Aśvaka*). Pāṇini mentions *Āsmaka* iv, 1, 173) and Muḷaka a clue comes from an unexpected quarter. Verse 1011 of the *Sutta Nipāta* (*Āḷakassa Paṭiṭṭhaneṣu purimassa*) mentions Paṭiṭṭhana of Āḷaka and verse 977 mentions Āḷakā as a country in the neighbourhood of Assaka (Asaka), a country on the banks of the Godāvari. (So *Assakassa vāṇe Āḷakassa samāseṇa vāṇi Godavarikūle uccesa ca phalaṇa ca*). But in three manuscripts (a MS in the Phayre collection in the India Office Library, a Burmese MS in the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and a MS in the Mandalay Collection of the India Office Library) it reads as Muḷaka or Muḷaka. Muḷaka is made more probable by the following facts. Asaka and Muḷaka are mentioned together in the Nāsik No. 2. According to the Purāṇas Muḷaka was the son of Āsmaka of the Ikṣvāku line. (Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 382). Paṭiṭṭhana is modern Paithān on the banks of the Godāvari; as Assaka is said to have included Godāvari there is no doubt that N. Mahārāṣṭra, at least the Nāsik district and the territory around Paithān, is to be identified with Asaka and Muḷaka; see also IA, Vol. XLVII, p. 150 f.n.

Rajputana) Akara (East Malwa), Avantī (West Malwa), Surāṣṭra (Surāṣṭra), Anūpa (a district in the upper Narmadā), Vidarbha ("the western part of modern Berar and the valley country west of that")⁷⁶ and Aparānta (N. Konkan).⁷⁷

(b) Puṣumāvi II.⁷⁸

Gotamīputa was succeeded by his son Puṣumāvi who according to the inscriptions would seem to have ruled for 24 years at least. The Purāṇas assign him a period of 28 years. Since they assign only 21 years to Gotamīputa Sīri-Sātakani who from inscriptions is known to have ruled for 24 years, it is probable that the Purāṇic total 49 has to be divided between them as 25 and 24 or 24 and 25.

Messrs R.G. and D.R. Bhandarkars' theory of the conjoint rule of Gotamīputa Sīri-Sātakani and Puṣumāvi

The theory of the conjoint rule of Puṣumāvi and his father, which was proposed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar long ago, did not find a single supporter. As it has been restated by Prof. Bhandarkar as late as 1914 and 1918, a discussion is necessary.⁷⁹ According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the Purāṇic discrepancy in the matter of the duration of the Sātavāhana dynasty (Mt. 460 years, Va. 411 years and Viṣṇu 300 years) is to be explained "by supposing that the longer period is made up by putting together the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches of the Andhrabhr̥tya dynasty".⁸⁰ According to V. A. Smith this discrepancy arises on account of some of the Purāṇas omitting the Śuṅga and Kanva years (112+45) or the latter from the Sātavāhana total.⁸¹ The other arguments of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar repeated by Prof. Bhandarkar are:—

76. Pargiter: *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 335.

77. For a detailed discussion of these names BG, Vol. XVI; EI, Vol. VIII; Rapson: *op. cit.*, and Bhandarkar's EHD.

78. His name is spelt as Puṣumāvi on coins and in Nāsik Nos. 3 and 20 and Kārlā No. 20; as Puṣumāyi in Nāsik Nos. 1 and 2 and Kārlā No. 20; and as Puṣumai in Nāsik No. 25. Puṣumāvi would seem to be the right form to start from. Rapson thinks that Puṣumāyi like Viṣṇvāyaka is a name whose meaning is not clear.

79. JBBRAS, Vol. XXXIII, *Epigraphic Notes and Questions*; IA, 1918, *Dekhan of the Sātavāhana period*.

80. EHD, p. 26.

81. ZDMG, 1902, p. 6.

(a) In Nāsik No. 2 dated in the 19th year of Puṣumāvi II, Gotamī Balasirī is called *Mahārājamātā* and *Mahārājapitāmahi*. This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time.

(b) Gotamīputa is called 'Dhanakaṭasāmi' (Dhānyakaṭaka-svāmi) in No. 3 and Puṣumāvi ruled at Paithān. It has been shown elsewhere⁸² that *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* refers to Dhanakaṭa monks or *samaṇas* and that Dhanakaṭa cannot be a form of Dharmakaṭaka. In No. 4 Gotamīputa is called 'Benākaṭakasāmi.' Every queen is the mother of a king and grandmother of a king. In the Nāpeghāt record Sātakaṇi I is eulogised and yet he was dead when the record was incised. In the inscription Puṣumāvi makes over the merit of the gift to his father in the expression 'pitupatiyo.' Such an application of merit can be made only in favour of a deceased person.⁸³ As Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has asked,⁸⁴ why should not the queen who refers to her son as one living (*jīvasutāya*) in No. 5 dated in the 24th year of Gotamīputa refer to him so in No. 2? According to M. Dubreuil the inscription is the funeral oration of a disconsolate mother.

(c) If it was a fact that Gautamīputra was dead when the cave temple was dedicated and Puṣumāvi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him. It is improbable that a king who had been dead for nineteen years should be highly extolled in the inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence. It will be shown below that the cave with all its cells was planned even during the reign of Gotamīputa, but executed only in part. Balasirī completed the cave later and made it equal to the cave of Uṣavadāta,⁸⁵ son-in-law of Nahapāna, whose dynasty Gotamīputa had extirpated; then the train of thought suggested to a mother explains this puzzling fact.

The arguments adduced by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar are:—

1. Since Puṣumāvi is a contemporary of Caṣṭana, who died before year 52 (130 A.D.) and since the dates in the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and Ayama are to be referred to the Śaka era, we should postulate a theory of conjoint rule if we are not to run into

82. Chap. II.

83. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 65.

84. JRAS, 1926, *The Later Sātavāhanas and the Śakas*.

85. Nāsik No. 2.

chronological absurdities or impossibilities. Bhandarkar himself has admitted that Caṣṭana was living when the Andhau inscriptions were incised; it has been shown above that the inscriptions of Nahapāna's reign must belong to a time before 100 A.D.

2. If cave No. 3 was granted in the 19th year of Puṣumāvi's reign, and if in the year 24 his father Gautamīputra speaks of it as his own gift, is not the conclusion irresistible that Gautamīputra was living when the cave in question was made over to the Buddhist monks, i.e., in Puṣumāvi's 19th regnal year, and that the year 24 of the other inscription although it records a donation of Gautamīputra must be referred not to his, but to Puṣumāvi's reign? No. 2 dated in the 19th year of Puṣumāvi records a non-official or private grant by the queen, while No. 5 (dated in the 24th year) like No. 4 is an official grant. What stamp No. 4 and No. 5 as official records are the order of the king to the officer in charge of the district where the object of the grant lay, and the mention of the formalities connected with the grant, i.e., oral order, drafting, preparation of the charter, preservation in the archives of the State and delivery. Nāsik No. 2, where neither the order of the king nor the formalities connected with grants are mentioned, is then a non-official record. The grant of the cave and lands by Gotamīputa mentioned in Nos. 4 and 5 must be different from the grant of the same cave by Balasiri. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has admirably pointed out that all official grants open with the order of the reigning king and end by giving the date, while in all private records (at Nāsik and Kārlā) the date is mentioned at the beginning. He concludes that Nos. 4 and 5 must therefore be referred to Gotamīputa's reign.⁸⁶

But how can one cave be granted by two persons at different times? The statement that Balasiri made the cave equal to the mansion in Kailāsa and the plan of the cave give us the clue. Gotamīputa who emulates Uṣavadāta in his grant of lands to the Nāsik and Kārlā Buddhist monks would certainly have planned a cave as beautiful, perhaps more beautiful than Uṣavadāta's cave (and in general appearance and arrangement the Queen's cave resembles that of Uṣavadāta). According to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, the raised verandah with a bench at the left end and two cells, one at the right and the other at the left end, show that the verandah with its two cells and the bench was a self-sufficient unit and was

86. *Op. cit.*, p. 650. It may be pointed out that in private records of the Ikṣvāku period the date comes at the end.

completed in or before the 18th year of Gotamīputa. The 18 cells in the interior, the verandah pillars, the frieze and the ornamentation over the doorway were executed by Balasiri, and the whole cave donated in the 19th year of Puṣumāvi. An examination of the projection before the verandah however makes it highly probable that the verandah of the original cave stood there.

If Gotamīputa and Puṣumāvi ruled conjointly, we would have found at least one inscription mentioning them together (the Andhau inscriptions mention Caṣṭana and Rudradāman) as ruling conjointly, and Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has pointed out that Naha-pāna's coins restruck by Gautamīputra are sufficient 'to shatter' Bhandarkar's theory. His inscriptions and coins leave no doubt that during his reign Śātavāhana power was at its height.

His dominions

There is nothing in Nāsik No. 2 to indicate that Puṣumāvi had lost any part of his father's dominions before the 19th year of his reign. (125 A.D.). The Amarāvati inscription of his time⁸⁷ and the find of his coins at Guḍivāḍa and Amarāvati, in the Godāvari district and on the Coromandel coast, show that his sway extended over the Āndhradeśa, and further south. The Andhau inscriptions prove that the Śakas had, between 125 and 130 A.D., taken advantage of the preoccupation of the Śātavāhana empire elsewhere to recover some of their lost possessions.⁸⁸

(c) *Siva Siri-Sātakaṇi*

The Purāṇas mention siva Siri-Sātakaṇi as the successor of Puṣumāvi.⁸⁹ He is certainly to be identified with the Vāsisthīputa siva Siri-Sātakaṇi of the coins from Āndhradeśa. As has been shown above he is the Vāsisthīputra Śri-Sātakaṇi of the Kaṇhēri inscription and therefore the son-in-law of Rudradāman. He must also be identified with the Vāsisthīputa Catarapana Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Nāgēghāt inscription.⁹⁰ According to Prof. Rapson ' . . . it is impossible to determine whether this king Vāsisthīputra Catarapana Śātakaṇi is a member of the dynasty otherwise unknown, or whether he should be identified with one of the three kings who

87. Lüders, *List* No. 1248.

88. According to R. D. Banerji and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, all the lost possessions had been recovered by the year 52.

89. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, 71 f.n. 18.

90. JBBRAS, Vol. XV, pp. 313 ff.

about this time bear the same metronymic on their coins'.⁹¹ In this latter case, if the length of the reigns is correctly given by the *Matsya Purāṇa*, he can only be identified with Puṣumāvi; and 'Catarapana' or 'phaṇa' must be regarded as a local title, somewhat of the same character, perhaps, as 'Viṣivāyakra'.⁹² It may be suggested tentatively that Catarapa like *Chatrapa* can be a form of *Kṣatrapa* on the analogy of *Prākṛt Cula* instead of *Chula*, for Sans. *Kṣudra* and *Cāntamūla* for *Chāntamūla* (Sans. *Kṣāntamūla*). Catarapa would be a form of *Chatrapa* (*Kṣatrapa*); sometimes the 'anaka' ending in names is shortened into 'ana,' e.g., *Viramna* for *Viramṇaka* (*Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* inscription F.). Catarapana would be a form of *Catarapāṇaka*. The name *Chatrapana* (*Kṣatrapāṇaka*) now becomes intelligible. It could only have been borne by the son-in-law of Rudradāman. A silver coin bearing the legends *Vāsithīputasa* and the Head of the King on the obverse⁹³ and the legends (. . .) *Hātakaṇiṣa Arakh* (. . .)^{*} is to be attributed to the son-in-law of Rudradāman, as it is modelled on *Kṣatrapa* coinage. If the title may be restored as *Arakhita*, it is possible to connect it conjecturally with *Kṣatrapa*. This makes the identification of *Vāsithīputa Catarapana Sātakaṇi* with the son-in-law of Rudradāman probable. The coin legends exhibit a variety of the Brāhmī alphabet in association with the *Prākṛt* usually found in inscriptions and on coins. This fact explains the Dravidian 'anaka' ending in the name *Catarapana*.⁹⁴

(d) *Sivamaka Sada* (*Sātakaṇi*)

After *siva Siri-Sātakaṇi* the *Purāṇas* with great unanimity place a *Sivaskanda*.⁹⁵ An *Amarāvati* inscription which is later than *Puṣumāvi*'s time mentions a *Sivamaka Sada*. As the palaeography of the inscription would give *Sivamaka* a place corresponding to

91. Bhagwanlal Indraji was correct in his estimate of the period to which the inscriptional characters belong (second century A.D.).

92. *Op. cit.*, xli.

93. There is also a trace of *sa*; vide *supra* for other details of this coin. Pl. I No. II.

94. The use of two varieties of Brāhmī alphabet and two different dialects on coins is perhaps an imitation of the use of Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī and Greek on the coins of the Western *Kṣatrapas*.

The peculiar *ha* according to Rapson approaches the *Bhaṭṭiprōlu ha*. It is perhaps the Kharoṣṭhī *ha* inverted; it may even be connected with the cursive *ha* on the *Kṣatrapa* coins.

95. *Vide supra*.

the Śivaśrī of the Purāṇas, we have to take it that by some process which is not now traceable Sivamaka was transformed by the Purāṇic writers into Śivaśrī, and Rapson is inclined to identify him with the Śivaśrī of the Purāṇas. Sivamaka as the name of Sātavāhana is quite probable. In Kuṣṭhā No. 6, Sivama as a personal name occurs,⁹⁶ and in the Sātavāhana official records Śiva often enters into the composition of the names of officials under them. Ka as a suffix to personal names is also common in the records of the Sātavāhana period, e.g., Sivaka, Saghaka.⁹⁷

(c) *Māḍharīputa Sakasena*⁹⁸ *Sātakaṇi*

But for the find of coins bearing the legends Saka Sada (Sakasena Sātakaṇi, (*vide supra*), the inclusion of his name in the list

96. Dhanama in Nāsik No. 25 (EI, Vol. VIII), is another instance of a name with a ma suffix. For the Kuṣṭhā inscription see ASWI, Vol. IV.

97. Lüders, List, Nos. 1177 and 1189.

98. This king bears the title 'sāmi.' Though Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi bears the title Benākatakasāmi his son Puṣumāvi is the first among the later Sātavāhanas to bear the honorific prefix 'sāmi' in addition to the usual 'siri.' Puṣumāvi's successors Māḍharīputa Sakasena, Siri-Yaśa Sātakaṇi and Caḍa Sāti bear it. In the Chinna Ganjam inscription Siri-Yaśa bears the titles of 'araka' and 'siri'. Therefore 'araka' would seem to be a prefix identical in meaning with 'sāmi' (lord). Since Nahapāna and his successors, princes of the Caṣṭana line, regularly bear the title 'svāmin', it may be asked whether the later Sātavāhanas did not borrow the prefix 'sāmi' from the Kṣatrapas. Since in a Deotek inscription a 'sāmi' (lord, king) addresses his official (amaca) at Cikambari, we have to cry halt to such a conjecture. The eye copy of the inscription compared with the estampage of the inscription recently prepared by Prof. Mirashi, and exhibited at the Oriental Conference at Mysore (1933) furnishes the following reading:

1. Sāmi svānapayati Cikambari-sa sa
2. hanaṁto bandhanṁto vā tasāradah kavarādhepa
3. Amacaṁ la-namaga
4. Dato lego (kho) ke pa I dī 4 bodho

(The eye copy is in Cunningham's CII, vol. I, old series, p. 102 and Pl. XV)

In the paper read before the Conference (*Proceedings* pp. 613-22) the Professor called it an Asokan inscription. But the later forms of *ta* *sa*, and *da* (in *dato*), *ya*, and the angular *pa*, make it difficult for us to subscribe to the Professor's views. Cunningham was nearer the truth when he opined that the inscription was not earlier than the first century B.C. The inscription would seem to be a Sātavāhana inscription for the following reasons:—

In the first century B.C. and even earlier the Sātavāhanas were in possession of East and West Mālwā. The inscription is dated in the Sātavāhana fashion by the seasons and fortnights. It also begins like the later

of our kings would have been rendered difficult, for do not his metronymic and personal name draw him nearer to Māḍharīputra Išvarsena, the Ābhīra? Even so he cannot be identified with any of the kings of the Purāṇic lists; we have to depend on the palaeography of the two Kanḥērī inscriptions of his time. Their alphabet so closely approaches the alphabet of Sirī-Yāña at Kanḥērī that it is probable that one closely succeeded the other. But we are not in a position to determine who preceded whom. Whilst the looped *ta* (Il. 10, 12 and 13), and the rounded *va* (as opposed to the triangular *va* in No. 14), and the more cursive *ka* in No. 15 stamp it as later than No. 14, the other letters stamp Sakasena's inscription (No. 14) as earlier than Sirī-Yāña's (No. 15). No. 14 which was incised on the 10th day of the 5th fortnight of the rainy season on the 8th year of the king, records the excavation of a cave by a merchant and householder, the son of Veṅḥunaṁdi an inhabitant of Kalyāṇa along with his father, brother and mother (Bodhisamā). The other inscription (No. 19) records the excavation of a cave by Hālanikā, wife of the donor in the previous inscription.

Like Sirī-Yāña, Māḍharīputa Sakasena Sātakaṇi ruled over both western and eastern Deccan. This fact also places him before Caṇḍa Sātakaṇi who would seem to have ruled over only the eastern Deccan. His coins bearing the lion device have been picked up in the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī districts. The 'sena' ending in his name makes it probable that he was a son of siva Sirī-Sātakaṇi, the son-in-law of Rudradāman.

(f) *Gotamīputa Sirī-Yāña Sātakaṇi*

His relationship to siva Sirī-Sātakaṇi and Sivamaka Sada cannot be ascertained. Formerly Bhagwanlal interpreted the reverse legends on his silver coins in such a way as to make him the son of Catarapana.⁹⁹ Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar interprets it so as to make him the father of Catarapana.¹⁰⁰ "But there can be no doubt that

Sātavāhana inscriptions. The formalities connected with the grant are also Sātavāhana (*dato, lego and bodho*). To add to these there is the title 'sāmi.' It is noteworthy that Māḍharīputa Sakasena has only the prefix 'sāmi,' the usual prefix 'sirī' being absent. For this reason Bhagwanlal would read 'sirī' for 'saka' in the inscriptions. But the second letter is only *ka*. What looks like a sign over the first letter in Burgess' impression may be only an accidental stroke. The omission of 'sirī' may be likened to the omission of 'sāmi' in some of the inscriptions of Puṣyamāvi II.

99. JBBRAS, Vol. XV, p. 306.

100. JBBRAS, Vol. XXIII, p. 66.

this reading and interpretation are incorrect. The rest of the rev. legend agrees word for word with obv. legend; but all that can be said about the doubtful word, which was read as 'Caturapānasa', is that it was one of five or six syllables, the last two only of which are legible with certainty, and that it was probably the equivalent to the first word of the obv. legend—*Raño*.¹⁰¹

His inscriptions at Kaṇhēri, Nāsik, Chinna Ganjam, his silver coins of Sopāra fabric, his numerous coins from Kṛṣṇā and Godāvari districts, his potin coins from the Chanda district (Central Provinces), clearly show that he not only maintained the eastern possession but also wrested from the Western Kṣātrapas Aparānta and North Mahārāṣṭra.¹⁰²

The Chinna Ganjam inscription dated in the 27th year of his reign shows that the Purāṇas are probably correct in assigning him a reign of 29 years.

In the *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa refers to a mendicant by name Nāgārjuna who was brought to Hell by the nāgas; he begged for (a wreath of pearls) from the snake King as a gift and received it. When he went out of Hell he gave it to a king, his friend, i.e., Sātavāhana, "the lord of the three oceans." Cowell and Thomas say that the latter therefore ruled over *Jambudvīpa*, *Plakṣadvīpa* and *Sāmaladvīpa*.¹⁰³ The Nāsik record of Balasiri makes it clear that the three oceans or seas are the seas to the west, east and south of the South Indian Peninsula. Hiuen Tsang refers to Nāgārjuna P'usa, a contemporary of the king styled Sha-to-p'o-ha or Leading Light (Yin-Leng). The latter quarried for him a monastery on the mountain Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li, 300 li to the south-west of the capital of South Kōśala. His date is variously given as 700, 500 and 400 years after the death of the Buddha.¹⁰⁴ Says Watters, "the names of the kings Kanishka and Kilika, of Vasumitra, Asvaghosha, Kātyāyaniputra, Dharmagupta, and Rāhulabhadra occur in the writings ascribed to Nāgārjuna, and we may with some probability assign him to the third century A.D." (we may say even to the end of the second century A.D.). Since the probable date of Nāgārjuna coincides with that of Siri-Yaṇa and

101. Rapson op. cit., xci.

102. If Mūḍhariputa Sakseena came between Siri-Yaṇa and Sivamaka Sada, the credit for recovering the Aparānta would go to him.

103. p. 252 f.n. 1.

104. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 204.

since Siri-Yaśa would seem to have been the last great Sātavāhana king to rule over eastern and western Deccan, he may be the Sātavāhana contemporary of the P'usa Nāgārjuna. Māḍharīputa Sakasena has equally good claims.

(g) *Vāsīṭhīputa Caḍa Sāti*

Prof. Rapson identifies Vāsīṭhīputa Siri-Caḍa Sāti of some coins from the Godāvari and Kṛṣṇā districts with the Skandasvātī of the Purāṇas on the score that he is closely connected with Puṣumāvi II by the type of his coins and metonymics;¹⁰⁵ according to the same scholar Caḍa Sāti of some lead coins is probably the Caṇḍasīri who occupies the last place but one in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas. It has been shown that Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi of the Purāṇas is the Sivamaka Sada of the Amarāvati inscription. 'Caḍa' is a variant of 'Caḍa' much like 'Ruda' and 'Ruḍa'.¹⁰⁶ The Kodavolu inscription dated in the regnal years of Vāsīṭhīputa Caḍa Sāti makes two Caḍa Sātis improbable.¹⁰⁷ If the Purāṇic account can be relied upon, the Ābhiras would seem to have risen to power in North Mahārāṣṭra 15 years before the rise of the Ikṣvākus, i.e., about 193 A.D. This makes it probable that the western dominions of the Sātavāhanas were lost during his reign. His Kodavolu inscription shows that during his reign Kālīṅga or a part of it came under Sātavāhana sway.

(h) *Puṣumāvi III*

An inscription from Myākadoni (in the Bellary district) recording the construction of a tank by a certain householder, resident in the village of Vepuraka¹⁰⁸ under Gōmika Kumāradatta, in the S[ā]tavāhani-bāra under Mahāsenāpati Khamdanāga, is

105. *Op. cit.*, xl.

106. Rapson: *op. cit.*, p. 46.

107. The inscription records a donation by an officer (*amaca*) and is dated in the second year of Caḍa Sāti, the Caṇḍasīri of the Purāṇas. What is read as '*amaccasa bhūmikasā*' by Sten Konow should be read as '*amaccasa bhūmikasā*'. Bhūmika is perhaps the name of the *amaca*.

108. Vepuraka may be tentatively identified with Virūpuram in the Adoni Taluq. Vepārī in the Hadaḡalli taluq and Virūpuram in the Hadaḡalli and Rayadrug taluqs have good claims to be identified with Vepuraka inasmuch as Hadaḡalli would also seem to have been included in the Sātavāhani-bāra or Sātāhani rāṣṭha. The Chilla(le)rekakodumka of the Hira-Hadaḡalli inscription of Śiva-Skandavarman is perhaps Chillakaladana in the Adoni taluq.

dated in the 8th year of a Siri-Puṣumāvi of the Sātavāhana family (*vañśo Sātavāhanānam s[ri]-Puṣum[ā]vā*). Mr. V. S. Sukthankar who has edited the inscription¹⁰⁹ has identified Siri-Puṣumāvi with Vāsīṭhīputa sāmī Siri-Puṣumāvi, son of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani. The absence of the metronymic and the honorific prefix 'sāmī' which are always borne by the son of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani, and the alphabet of the Myākadoni inscription, which approaches that of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Jagayyapēṭa inscriptions, make it highly probable that the Puṣumāvi of this inscription is the last of the Sātavāhanas in the Purāṇic lists.¹¹⁰ True, the Purāṇas assign him a period of 7 years. But this fact presents no insuperable difficulty. Gotamīputa Sātakani ruled for 21 years according to the Purāṇas. Yet we know from epigraphic evidence that he ruled for at least 24 years! Vāsīṭhīputa Catarapana Sātakani ruled for at least 13 years; yet the Purāṇas assign him a period of 7 years only!

Since all Purāṇic lists stop with Puṣumāvi it is highly probable that he is the last representative of the great dynasty.



109. EI, Vol. XIV, pp. 151ff.

110. Following V. A. Smith, Sukthankar makes out four Puṣumāvis in the Purāṇic dynastic lists (Nos. 15, 24, 28 and 30 in the Matsya List). In fact the Purāṇas mention only three Puṣumāvis. The line 'Śivaśrī vai Puṣoma tu saptaśaḥ bhavitā nṛpaḥ' must be translated as: "after Puṣumāvi Śivaśrī will be king seven years" and not as "Śivaśrī Puṣumāvi will be king 7 years" if we accept the reading 'Puṣomāt tu' (Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 71, f.n. 18).

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE ŚĀTAVĀHANA EMPIRE

Royal Succession

The Śātavāhana polity conformed to the rule laid down in the *Sāstras*; its keystone was the sovereign. Monarchy was hereditary. Though the Śātavāhanas bore metronymics, though they do not mention their fathers in their inscriptions, succession was always reckoned in the male line.¹ The expression 'kulapurisa-paraparā-gata' in which the term 'purisa' implies, according to Senart, 'descent by males', is corroborative evidence in the same direction.² Generally the eldest sons inherited the crown. It is remarkable that though polygamy seems to have been the rule, we have no evidence, either in the lithic records or in the *Purāṇas*, of disputed successions.³ During the minority of the Crown-Prince⁴, especially in times of stress, succession passed on to the brother of the late king. Kaṇha Śātavāhana, brother of Simuka,⁵ the founder of the dynasty, would seem to have come to the throne during the minority of the latter's son. Sometimes the Queen-mother assisted by her father acted as the regent and according to Bühler performed some sacrifices⁶ like kings.

The King

The King was the commander in war and led his armies personally to the battle-field. The detailed instructions issued to *amātas* (*amātyas*, governors of provinces)⁷ bear testimony to the

1. The *Purāṇa* texts and Nāsik No. 3 make this clear; also among the *Mahārashtris* bearing metronymics, titles and office pass from father to son (Lüders, *List*, No. 1100).

2. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 63.

3. *Vide supra*.

4. All princes are called *Kumāras*. The Pallava practice of calling the Crown-Prince *Yuvarāṭarāja* and of associating him in the administration of the country is unknown to this period.

5. *Kṛṣṇo bhāratā yuvigāmatu apādāna bhaviṣyati*.

6. But it has been shown above that the sacrifices mentioned in the Nāneghāt inscription were performed by Sīri-Śātakaṇi.

7. Kārlā No. 19, EI, Vol. VII.

effective control exercised by the king over officers in every part of the empire; and kings were not merely content with issuing orders. They took the necessary steps for realising their intentions. It is no wonder that in a simple administrative machinery as the Sātavāhana one, the king was powerful both in theory and practice.

But the king was no capricious Sultan. As the guardian of the social and religious order, his "fearless hand" was to be "wet by the water poured out to impart fearlessness." He was to prevent "the contamination of the four castes." The true father of his people, he should "sympathise with the weal and woes of his citizens" and "never employ taxes except in conformity with justice". He was to be the "furtherer of the homesteads of the low as well as of the twice-born".⁸ He should properly "devise time and place for the triple object of human activity." A king educated in these precepts among a moralising people would have been more than human if he had escaped the obsession of this conception of his duties. Moreover he was aided by ministers some of whom were confidential ministers (*viśvāsya amātya*).

It has been shown that Dr. Bhandarkar's theory of dual monarchy is unproven and improbable.⁹ But sometimes kings associated their mothers with them in the administration of their country. Nāsik No. 5¹⁰ (dated in the 24th year) is a joint order of Gotami Balasiri and her son Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, to the officer in charge of the Govadhanahāra. Prof. Rapson attributes this arrangement to the failing health of the King. It might have been so. It might also be, that the absence of the Queen-mother's name in Nāsik No. 4 (dated in the 18th year) is to be attributed to the fact that it was issued from a military camp in Govadhanahāra,¹¹ whilst the other was issued from the capital. If so, the arrangement might have been due to reasons other than ill-health. A Kanḥēri inscription speaks of a confidential minister who executed certain works, and of the queen

8. EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 61-62.

9. Vide, *supra*.

10. EI, Vol. VIII.

11. According to Senari, the genitive Govadhanasa is better construed with *skandhādāśrīt* than with *Benākataka*. 'The sequence of words would then appear somewhat less regular; but the presence of another genitive, *senāya Vejayasītiye*, may have caused Govadhanasa to be placed after *khetadādāśrīt*.'

of Vāsisthīputra Śrī-Sātakarnī. Unfortunately the inscription is mutilated and the missing words may show us the part she played in the government of the empire.¹²

Feudatories

(a) *Petty Princes*.—The administration of the empire was carried on by the agency of ordinary officials, and feudatories, i.e., petty princes, the *Mahārāṭhis* and the *Mahābhōjas*. Kolhāpur and the district around it would seem to have been governed by a line of princes with Dravidian associations (2nd cen. A.D.). That they were feudatories of the Sātavāhanas is made clear by the following facts:—Ptolemy places one of these princes in the time of Vāsisthīputra sāmī Sīri-Puṣumāvi; their coins are found at Kolhāpur. Gotamīputa Sīri-Sātakarnī's empire included lands as far south as Vaijayantī, and Kolhāpur is north of Vaijayantī; these princes bear Sātavāhana metronymies. Like the Kṣatrapas of the Khakharāta and Caṣṭana line they bear the title of *rājan*. Rājan Cuṭukaḍānaṇḍa and Rājan Muḍānaṇḍa of the coins from Kārwar in North Kanara according to Rapson belong to the same period as the *Mahārāṭhi* of the Chitaldoorg coins (lxxxvi), a period long before that of the Cuṭu kings of inscriptions (lxxxv). From the fact that Rapson has included these coins in the catalogue, it may be inferred that he considers them as feudatories of the Sātavāhanas.

(b) *Mahārāṭhis and Mahābhōjas*.—Rapson and Senart consider the derivation of the term *Mahārāṭhi* uncertain.¹³ The analogous titles, *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahādandanāyaka*, leave no doubt that the prefix *mahā* denotes an officer of higher rank. The word¹⁴ 'rāṭhi' connects it with the *Raṭṭhika* of Asoka's and

12. No. 11, ASWI, Vol. V.

13. JRAS, 1903, p. 297 EI, Vol. VII, p. 49.

14. The orthography of the inscriptions Nānēghāt, Kanhēri, Bedsā, Kārlā No. 2 (EI, Vol. VII) and Chitaldoorg coins (except Bhājā No. 2) (CTI) and Kārlā No. 14 (EI, Vol. VII) is 'rāṭhi' and not 'rathi.' E. Senart thinks that *ṭhi* is probable in Kārlā No. 2 and *thi* probable in Kārlā No. 14, l. 1; but an examination of the stones makes the *ṭhi* certain in No. 2 and very probable in No. 14, l. 1. Since in the numerous inscriptions there is not one instance of a mistake of *ṭha* for *tha* and 'rāṭhi' occurs more often than 'rathi', the former is the proper form to start from.

The terms 'Rāṭhi' (Rāstrin) and Rāṭhika (Rāstrika) have the same meaning. Also the elision of *ka* in 'Rāṭhi' may be compared with the elision of it in Bhoja of Asoka's edicts (the Bhojaka of the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravēla).

Khāravela's inscriptions; what is more striking, the *Mahārāṣṭhis* are as much associated with the *Mahābhōjas* as the *Ratthikas* with the *Bhojas* (*Bhojakas*).¹⁵

The *Mahārāṣṭhi* and *Mahābhōja* inscriptions are in western India; and the *Ratthikas* and *Bhojas* of Asoka's inscriptions are to be sought for in western India.¹⁶

Asoka's inscriptions mention the *Ratthikas* and the *Bhojas* in the plural along with border peoples like the *Andhras*, the *Pulindas*, *Kāmbojas* and the *Yavanas*. These terms would therefore seem to refer to tribes or peoples. *Ratthika* (*Rāstrika*) means "ruler" or "governor of a province." In the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, *Ratthika* implies a hereditary office.¹⁷ The *Ratthikas*¹⁸ and *Bhojakas* of the *Hāthigumphā* inscription would seem to be local chiefs, since, when referring to Khāravela's conquest of them, it mentions the smashing of their coronets, helmets, umbrellas, etc.—insignia of a ruler.¹⁹ According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Mahā-*

15. The *Hāthigumphā* inscription of Khāravela (EI, Vol. XX, p. 79 l. 6); in Asoka's edicts the *Ratthikas* are not mentioned with the *Bhojas*, but the *Petenikas* are mentioned with the *Ratthikas* in R.E.V. and with the *Bhojas* in R. E. XIII; see also Bedāli No. 2, CTI; and Kaphēri Nos. 15, 24, 29, ASWL, Vol. V. The proximity of the *Thāna* and *Kolābā* Districts, which would seem to have been held by the *Mahābhōjas*, to Poona and the surrounding districts, held by the *Mahārāṣṭhis*, should also be noted.

16. Unlike the *Āndhras* and the *Pulindas*, the *Ratthikas*, *Bhojas* and *Petenikas* are called "the western borderers" (R.E.V. Gīrnār, t. I. 5; Śāh, t. I. 12).

17. The *Pañcakanīmapāṭa* in the *Nīvaṛasa-Vagga* mentions as *Mahādāma Kulaputtas*, anointed Kings, *Pettanika-Ratthikas*, *Senāpatas*, *Gāmagāmanikas* and *Pāgagāmanikas*. D. R. Bhandarkar is of opinion that '*Pettanika*,' which is explained in the commentary (Indices, Vol. VI) as '*Pitarā dattam adpateyam buhijati*,' is an adjective qualifying *Ratthika*. *Pettanika-Ratthika* therefore means 'hereditary *Ratthika*.' *Yadidā* which separates *Senāpati* from *Gāmagāmanika* and the latter from *Pāgagāmanika* does not separate *Ratthika* from *Pettanika*. This is the only argument in favour of his view though he does not mention it. He is also of opinion that *Ratthika-Pitṭinika* and *Bhoja-Pitṭinika* of Asoka's inscriptions also mean 'among hereditary *Ratthikas*' and 'among hereditary *Bhojas*.' The parallel cases of *Āndha-Pulideṣu* and *Yona-Gandhāra-Kāmbojeṣu* make such an explanation improbable; and in Śāh V., we have *Rastikanash Pitṭikanam*.

18. These coupled with the fact that in Asoka's inscriptions *Pitṭinika* is the regular form makes the identity of the *Pitṭinika* of Asoka's inscriptions with the *Pettanika* of *Āṅguttara Nikāya* problematical.

19. Lüders translates '*sava Ratthika-Bhojake*' as 'of the Provincial and local chiefs'.

bhārata, the term *Bhoja* denotes a prince;²⁰ In a Mahāḍ inscription a Kānabhoja (Kānabhoja) is called a Kumāra, a title applied to princes (CTI, No. 1.). If 'bhojaka' of the Hira-Haḍagalli plates can be taken to mean "free holder" it can by a stretching of the meaning, imply a local ruler or chief.²¹ In the *Mahāvamsa*, it means 'village headman.' It is probable that these titles have a geographical or ethnical meaning. For all that we know, it may be that the ethnical meaning started from the official title.

The important place assigned to *Mahārathi* Tranakayiro father of Nāyanikā, wife of Sātakaṇi I,²² (2nd century B.C.), a place just below that of the Crown-Prince and above that of the two younger princes may give the clue to the origin of the title. In the days of their service under Mauryan suzerains, the predecessors of Sātakaṇi I must have been in a close alliance with the powerful *Rāṭhikas* of the west, a source of strength for them; they would have enlisted *Rāṭhika* help in their *coup d'état*. The *coup d'état* being successful, the *Rāṭhikas* would have been given a higher title and status, but they had to exchange Mauryan suzerainty for the Sātavāhana. The silken bond of marriage which made and unmade empires in Mediaeval Europe must have been forged to strengthen Sātavāhana Imperialistic position.

20. Ait. Brāh. VIII, 12, 14, 17.

Śānti Parvaṇ, chapter LXVIII. Ś. 54:

*Rājā bhoja virāt samrāt
kṣatriya bhūpatirāpāh /
ya ebhik atyate śabdaiḥ
kṣama nārcitumarhati ||*

21. In the Ait. Brāh. one who is installed on the throne for the sake of enjoyment (*bhojyaṇa*) alone is called a *Bhoja*.

22. Bühler's (ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 60, n. 3) restoration of the word before *Mahārathi* (in the long inscription) as '[bā]lāya' is open to question. General usage requires that '[bā]lāya' which again should be considered as a mistake for *balikāya*, should follow *Mahārathina*. According to Prof. Rapson (JRAS 1903, p. 238; and *op. cit.*, xx) the Chitaldroog *Mahārathi* coins make the restoration of the word as '(Ka)lāya' probable. Then the long record does not show the *Mahārathi's* relations with the royal family. Even so, the *Mahārathi* of the long record is identical with *Mahārathi* Tranakayiro of the relieves, which show him in the company of two kings, one queen and three princes, apparently in the order of precedence after one of them and before the other three. He could not have been a brother of Sātakaṇi I, for he is not called a Kumāra. He could not have been a minister only, for ministers have no place in the royal family. The laudatory epithets used by the Queen towards the *Mahārathi* following closely those used towards her husband, could only represent an outburst of filial love.

The titles of *Mahābhoja* and *Mahābhōji* might have had a similar origin. But since they occur in the Kuṭā or Beṣā inscriptions which yield no date or point of contact with any known dynasty, it is not easy to determine the period at which they came into existence. That they existed under the Cuṭus is certain.²³ As the ornamental alphabet of the *Mahābhoja* inscriptions at Kuṭā²⁴ is found also in the approximately datable inscriptions of Vāsīṭhīputa Siri-Puṣumāvi or his time,²⁵ and of the minister of the Queen of his successor Vāsīṭhīputa Siri-Sātakani, it may be ascribed to the second century A.D. True, local influences may have played their own part. Two *Mahābhoja* inscriptions from Kuṭā²⁶ do not exhibit the ornamental variety and are earlier than Kuṭā Nos. 1 and 9. The primitive form of the dental *da* (open to the left), and the ornamental treatment of medial *i* and *u* signs, of the lower end of the verticals of *ka* and *ra* and the upper end of the verticals of *ha* and *la* and finally the rounded bottom of *ma* and *la*, stamp No. 19 as very early in the series. No. 17 with its somewhat angular *ma* and cursive *da*, which occurs in later inscriptions represents a transition to the ornamental alphabet. An interval of two generations between the alphabet of No. 19 and the ornamental alphabet may, therefore, be safely postulated. The office and title of *Mahābhoja*, then, came into existence not later than the 1st half of the first century A.D.

Nature of the titles: *Mahābhoja*

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives the meaning 'great prince' to *Mahābhoja*.²⁷ Since no *Mahābhoja* inscription is dated in the fashion in which kings' inscriptions are generally dated, it is certain that they were not independent rulers;²⁸ and it is very difficult to separate the title from the feudatory titles *Mahārāṭhi* and *Mahāśāmantā*. Like all feudatory titles, the title *Mahābhoja* is also a

23. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1021 and 1188.

24. *CTI*, Nos. 1 and 9.

25. *EI*, Vol. VII, Nos. 29 and 22.

26. *CTI*, Nos. 17 and 19.

27. *Petersburg Dict.* (q. v.).

28. A title originally applied to princes can become a feudatory title. The title *Mahārāja*, which in the Gupta inscriptions is associated with the feudatory titles, *Mahāśāmantā*, *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahāśenāpati* and *Mahādandanāyaka*, is an instance to the point (*CII*, Vol. III, pp. 252, 289, 290, and 296, n.).

hereditary one²⁹ and became fixed in a few families or clans.³⁰ That the *Mahābhōjas* were feudatories of the *Sātavāhanas* is proved by the fact that there could not have been a rival power in the western Deccan in the first century A.D. (Kuṭā where most of the *Mahābhōja* inscriptions are found is only 150 miles from Kārlā which was certainly included in the *Sātavāhana* empire), which could have claimed their allegiance; they are moreover related to the *Mahārāṣṭhis* (feudatories of the *Sātavāhanas*) by family ties and were the feudatories of the *Cuṭus* who succeeded the *Sātavāhanas* in northern Mysore and parts of the western Deccan.³¹

29. Kuṭā, Nos. 1 and 9, CTI.

30. *Maṇḍava* and *Sāḍakara*(kera). What is read as *Sāḍakara* (in Kuṭā No. 19) may well be read as *Sāḍakera*. When we remember that in the same inscription as well as in Kuṭā No. 9, CTI, the *ḍ* and *ṣ* signs are very short strokes (e.g. *Vijayānīkāya* and *leṣa*) and that sometimes the sign for *ḍ* is the *o* sign—*mālākārasa* Kuṭā, No. 16 (CTI), we may treat what appears as a nail head over *ka* in *Sāḍakara* as the sign for medial *ṣ*. Considering the *ḍa* in *Sāḍakera* and *Sāḍagera* (the mas. form of *Sāḍageri* in Kuṭā Nos. 1 and 9, CTI) and the use of *ga* for *ka* (the *Sopāraka* of Nos. 988 and 1095 is called *Sopāraka* in No. 995 Lüders, *List*, one may equate *Sāḍakera* with *Sāḍagera*. A lady of the *Sāḍagera* family bears the name *Vijayā*. The daughter of *Sāḍakara* *Sudamṣana* bears the name *Vijayanikā*, a variant of *Vijayā*. Do not these names also suggest the idea that they belonged to the same family circle? Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji remarks (CTI p. 15): "Vijayanikā is apparently the same as the *Vijayā* of Nos. 1 and 9; the epithets *Mahābhōja* and *Sāḍakara* applied to her father here (No. 19) corresponding with the feminine forms *Mahābhōjī* and *Sāḍagerī* applied to *Vijayā*". But it has been pointed out already that Kuṭā No. 19 is separated from Kuṭā Nos. 1 and 9 by at least two generations.

According to the same scholar, *Maṇḍava* may designate either the gotra name *Māṇḍavya* or the title *Māṇḍapa* 'lord of a town called *Maṇḍapa*.' Says he:—"This latter seems to be the preferable explanation as *Maṇḍapa* is the name for towns all over India, and three small villages called *Māḍād* or *Maṇḍādh* i.e., probably *Mandapagaḍh* lie close to Kuṭā". (p. 4). But the use of the dental *d* in *Maṇḍavānā* and *Maṇḍava* renders either explanation problematical. Moreover '*Maṇḍava-sāmī*' and not '*Maṇḍavasa*' can mean 'lord of the town of *Maṇḍava*'. If *Maṇḍava* should designate the country, the cognate inscription would lead us to expect *Maṇḍavakasa*. In only one inscription have we *Kālīakasa* for *Kālīānakasa* (Lüders, *List* No. 1179), but it is easily understood as a scribal error. The occurrence of '*Maḍavasa*' (*Maṇḍavānā*) in Kuṭā No. 14 CTI, coupled with the fact that in several instances (Junnar Nos. 5 and 6, the *Jagḍī Guṇḍa* inscription of *Pulamāvi* and the *Pallava* and *Kadamba* inscriptions) the proper name of a person is preceded by the name of the title or family to which he belongs in the genitive plural, makes it certain that '*Maṇḍava*' is a family name.

31. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1021 and 1186.

It has been generally supposed, that the title *Mahābhōja* is exactly co-ordinate with that of *Mahārāṭhi*. But the *Mahābhōjas* seem to have enjoyed more independence than the *Mahārāṭhis*, for unlike the Kārīā *Mahārāṭhi* inscription, no *Mahābhōja* inscription is dated in the regnal years of a Sātavāhana king; a Kuṭā inscription³² comes very near to being dated in the years of a *Mahābhōja* (*Mahābhōje Marudave Kochipute Velidate*). Whereas Senart has said that title *Mahārāṭhi* cannot imply a title of nobility superior to that of *Mahābhōja*,³³ we can on the strength of the evidence cited here go further and say that the title *Mahābhōja* was superior to that of *Mahārāṭhi*.

Mahābhōjī

Like the title *Mahārāṭhi*, *Mahābhōja* became a title applied even to women. The title *Mahābhōjī* is borne only by the wives of *Mahābhōjas* and not by the daughters also as Bhagwanlal thought.³⁴ In Kuṭā Nos. 1 and 9 (CTI) *Mahābhōjī* Sādagerī Vijayā is mentioned along with her son *Mahābhōja* Khandapālita to the exclusion of her husband's name; this may go to show that, like some of the Sātavāhana queens, the *Mahābhōjis* sometimes shared political power with their sons. There is so far no evidence to show that a *Mahārāṭhinī* ever enjoyed such a position or influence.

Mahārāṭhis

What stamp the *Mahārāṭhis* as feudatories are the fact that they were hereditary governors of provinces,³⁵ and the rank and

32. CTI, No. 23.

33. Senart says (EI, Vol. VII, p. 50, n. 4):—"in this instance (Beḍā No. 2 CTI) Marudavi precedes Mahārāṭhinī. Seeing that Mahābhōja always precedes either attribute when connected with it, this position does not seem to indicate that Mahārāṭhi could imply a title of superior nobility, and consequently still less that it could designate a very high dignity." But it is a correct view based on wrong premises. Not much can be based upon *Mahābhōja* preceding *Mahārāṭhi* as it is *Mahābhōja-Bālita* that precedes *Mahārāṭhinī*, and in a Banavāsi inscription, (Lüders, List No. 1186) *Mahābhuvā* (*Mahābhōjī*) precedes *Mahārāja*. As for Māndava the donor in Beḍā No. 2 (daughter of a *Mahābhōja* and a *Mahārāṭhinī*) might have combined the *Mahābhōja* practice of mentioning the family name after the feudatory title with the *Mahārāṭhi* practice of mentioning it before the feudatory title (Kārīā No. 14, EI, Vol. VII).

34. The daughters of *Mahābhōjas* are, however, referred to as *Mahābhōja-bālitas*. *Mahābhuvā* in a Banavāsi inscription is either a mistake or a variant of *Mahābhōjī*.

35. "... whatever the derivation of the term may have been," says Prof. Rapson (JRAS, 1903, p. 300) "such an expression as *Okhalektyamash Mahārāṭhi* (Kārīā No. 14) shows conclusively that it denoted the governor over

power enjoyed by them, a rank and power far superior to those of ordinary governors or *amacas* in charge of districts. Whilst *amacas* make grants of lands and villages to religious bodies under the explicit commands of the sovereign (the detailed instructions issued to them by kings would seem to have left no room for their discretion), the *Mahārāṭhi*, like a feudal vassal, grants villages with the fiscal immunities attached to them, in his own name.³⁶ That they were feudatories of the *Sātavāhanas* is shown, as was pointed out by Bühler, by Kārlā No. 14, which is dated in the regnal years of *Vāsiṭhiṭṭa* *Siri-Puṣumāvi*. It is not, however, known whether they had the right of waging war with one another. But their semi-independence is shown by the absence of any reference to their suzerains in their inscriptions (except Kārlā No. 14). The *Chitaldoorg Mahārāṭhi* coins make it very probable, that during

a part of the kingdom." Senart has shown (EI, Vol. VII, p. 50) reasons for abandoning this construction and making *Oḥalakiṇṇaw* depend upon *Semadevena*; it would then denote not the people over which the *Mahārāṭhi* ruled, but the tribe or family to which he belonged.

Senart further says—"the occurrence of the feminine *Mahārāṭhini* in *Beḍā* No. 2 also indicates rather that the term does not imply the actual office of governor of a district or province, but an honorific or nobiliary title." But in a *Nāsik* inscription of *Siri-Yaśa Sātakarni's* reign (No. 24, EI, Vol. VIII) the wife of a *Mahāsenāpati* is known by her husband's title. From the *Jainli Gundu* inscription of *Puṣumāvi III's* reign, we learn that a *Mahāsenāpati* ruled over an *dhāra* much in the same way as an *amaca*. Modern instances of finding appellations for women in the official titles of their husbands are afforded by Viceroy, *Pūṭia* and *Gandāsini*. That *Mahārāṭhi* governed is shown by Kārlā No. 14, where a *Mahārāṭhi* grants on his account a village with its taxes and by the *Chitaldoorg* coins bearing the legends *Sadakaṇa Kejaldga Mahārāṭhiṣa*. If *Mahārāṭhi* is not an official title, we are led to the paradoxical conclusion that the feudatories are known in their coins and official grants by their nobiliary titles, whilst the official titles (given for even minor officers, *Nāsik* Nos. 4 and 5) are the only ones we miss here. Etymologically too, the term, which Senart himself admits presupposes a Sanskrit form *Mahārāṭria* implies an office (*vide supra*).

36. Kārlā No. 14. We owe to Senart a proper explanation of the terms *sakarukara* and *sadeyamayo* which Bühler and Bagwanlal translate as 'this gift is in order to keep the *Valūsaka* caves in repair'. Senart splits *sakarukara* into 'kara' and 'ukara,' the exact equivalent of which appears at the head of customary formulas which begin generally with *sōdratga sōparikara*. According to him while *kara* is known in the sense of dues payable to government, the meaning of *sparikara* is as unsettled as that of *sōdratga*. But *spari* means 'above' and *sparikara* may be taken to mean taxes over and above the ordinary ones. The adjective *Sadeyamayo* is etymologically translated as 'what is taken (in money) and what has to be measured (*meyya* = to be measured, *ādeya* = to be taken).

the second century A.D. the *Mahārāṭhis* were contributing their share to the dismemberment of the Sātavāhana empire.³⁷

Like many feudatory titles, that of *Mahārāṭhi* had purely a local significance. The *Mahārāṭhi* and *Mahārāṭhīnī* inscriptions are found in northern Mysore and the Thāna and Kolābā districts of the Bombay presidency. The expressions *Okhaḷa kiyānān Mahārāṭhi*, *Sadakana Kaḷalāya Mahārāṭhi*, and *Aṁgīya kulavadhana Mahārāṭhi* suggest the idea that the title was restricted to a few families or tribes.³⁸ Senart says:—"It may be noted that to *Mahārāṭhi* Agimitraṇaka corresponds a *Mahārāṭhi* Mitadeva in No. 14; that this Mitadeva is a Kausikiputra, like Vishṇudatta at Bhājā (No. 2); and lastly that the *Mahārāṭhīnī* Sāmaḍinikā at Bēḍā (No. 2) was married to an Āpadevaṇaka. Do not these different names look as if they were connected with each other in such a way as to suggest the idea that they may have belonged to the same circle of families or relations?" Much cannot be built on similarity in names, especially when they are very common. Names like Mitabhūti and Mitadeva occur very often in the western cave inscriptions. Surely the *bhāyata* Mitabhūti of the Kaṇhēri inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 1012) has nothing to do with the Mitadeva of No. 1187 and both have nothing to do with the Mitadevaṇaka of No. 1097.

The Nāneghāt and Kaṇhēri inscriptions show that the *Mahārāṭhis* had marriage relations with the ruling family much in the same way as the *Mahātalaṅkas* of the Ikṣvāku period. Professor Rapson remarks:³⁹ "That they were . . . closely connected with the Andhra kings by family or by caste seems to be shown, as Panḍit Bhagwānlāl observed, by the use of metronymics which they have in common with them." But metronymics are not peculiar to a caste or family. They are borne by Brahmans,⁴⁰ artisans,⁴¹ and even Buddhists, monks and laymen.⁴² Unlike the Sātavāhanas, *Mahārāṭhis* sometimes bear metronymics not derived from Vedic *gotra* names, and give their father's name also.

It must however be noted that unlike the inscriptions of feudatories of later times, the *Mahārāṭhi* and *Mahābhoja* inscriptions are

37. EI, Vol. VIII, Pl. III.

38. Kārlā, No. 14; Chitaldroog *Mahārāṭhi* coins; Nāneghāt inscription of queen Nāyanikā.

39. JRAS, 1903, p. 299.

40. Lüders *List*, Nos. 1195 and 1196.

41. *Ibid.*, No. 346.

42. *Ibid.*, Nos. 657; 661; 662; 663; 664; 665; 667; and 1271.

as short as the votive inscriptions of ordinary persons. We miss in them the laudatory epithets applied to feudatories of a later time.

Mahāsenāpatīs

Another dignitary in the empire was the *Mahāsenāpati*, next in rank above the *Senāpati*. The first known epigraphic record to mention a *Mahāsenāpati* is the Nāsik inscription of the 22nd year of Vāsīthiputa sāmi Śiri-Pulumāvi. In the records of his successors the title is mentioned twice and in Ikāvāku records often. It may, therefore, be presumed, that the title is not as old as that of *Mahārāṣṭri*.⁴³ Its origin is perhaps to be sought in the rapid expansion of the empire from sea to sea in the second century A.D.

The *Mahāsenāpatīs* of the Sātavāhana period have non-military duties; but this confusion of functions though it may seem curious to moderns was a common feature in Indian polity. In Nāsik No. 3, the drafting of the royal order is attributed to a *Mahāsenāpati*. (*Mahāsenāpatinā Medhūnena Nokhadāsātara(ne)nā chatho*). While editing the inscriptions Senart remarks⁴⁴:—"As to the *Mahāsenāpati*, the proper name alone seems obliterated or doubtful; but the lacuna may have contained something else than his name. Other inscriptions do not attribute to the *Senāpati* the menial work of drafting, but perpetuate his name as that of a high officer entrusted with this charge at the end of the grant; see e.g. Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* Nos. 55 and 56. In a still higher degree the title of *Mahāsenāpati*, which comes very near to that of *Mahārāja*..... seems to place the person who is honoured with it above any such mean task. This is why I suspect that the obliterated letters, if exactly known, would let his part appear in a different light." No doubt in cognate inscriptions (Nāsik Nos. 4 and 5) the drafting of the royal order is attributed to minor officials. But here the third case ending in *Mahāsenāpatinā* precludes any chance of his *lekṣaka's* name having been on the stone. A close examination of the stone renders '*Nokhadāsātara(ne)nā*' probable; and in western inscriptions '*dāsa*' often enters into the composition of names. The Hira-Haḍagallī plates mention a *Rahasādṛikata*,

43. The office of *Senāpati* (Commander of forces) would seem to have been coeval with the beginnings of Indian polity itself. We hear of it in the *Vedas* (*Vedic Index Senāni*) the *Jātakas*, the *Arthśāstra*, and the *Purāṇas*; and an inscription from Ayodhyā (*El. Vol. XX. p. 37*) shows that Puṣyamitra was a *Senāpati* under the last of the Mauryas.

44. *El. Vol. VIII. p. 70.*

the Khoh copper plate of *Mahārāja Hastin* a *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*⁴⁵ and most of the Valabhi grants of the sixth century A.D. a *Sāndhivigrahika*, as writers of charters.⁴⁶ The title *Sāndhivigrahika* is sometimes used in connection with that of *Mahādandanāyaka* which is associated with the great feudatory titles of *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahāpratihāra* and *Mahāsāmanta*.⁴⁷ *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* would seem to be an officer equal in rank, if not superior to *Mahāsenāpati*. In the case of such high officials the mean task of drafting would have been done by clerks under them. What would be a conjecture is raised to a certainty by the expression *sayam chato* in the Konḍamudi plates.⁴⁸ The task of reducing royal writs to writing was a responsible one; the dangers attendant upon a careless drafting and the large number of orders to be drafted might have necessitated a *lekha* department under a responsible officer.⁴⁹

The *Mahāsenāpati* of the Jaṅgli Guṇḍu inscription of the time of the last king of the Sātavāhana line, is, like the *amaca*, in charge of only an *āhāra*. As late as the reign of Cāḍa Sātakaṇi, the eastern provinces, divided into *āhāras*, would seem to have been under *amacas*.⁵⁰ It is, therefore, probable that in the days of the Śaka attacks and the dismemberment of the empire, the outlying or vulnerable parts were put under *Mahāsenāpatīs* who would naturally have seized the opportunity to gain feudatory rank and power.⁵¹ Jaṅgli Guṇḍu is midway between the

45. CII, Vol. III, p. 105; t.1. 28.

46. IA, Vols. IV, etc.

47. CII, Vol. III.

48. Vide *infra*.

49. The *Arthasāstra* says that only persons possessed of ministerial qualifications, acquainted with one kind of customs, smart in composition, good in legible writing and sharp in reading should be appointed as *vājalīptikaras* (chap. IX; Bk. I).

Sometimes *Dūtakas* carried the orders to local officers whose duty it was then to have the charters drawn up and delivered (Nāsik No. 5, op. cit., CII, Vol. III, p. 100, n.)

50. EI, Vol. XVI, pp. 316-19.

51. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar holds that *Mahāsenāpati* of Nāsik No. 21, is a feudatory on the ground that the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* mentions *Senāpatī* along with kings, hereditary *Raṭṭhikas* and heads of villages. But the office of *Mahāsenāpati* was a generic one, and the three *Mahāsenāpatīs* of the Sātavāhana inscriptions appear in three different capacities. So an inference based on such argument cannot be conclusive.

V. S. Sukthankar remarks (EI, Vol. XIV, p. 155): "The relation in which the *mahāsenāpati* and the *gumika* stand to the *jayapada* and the *gama*

Myākadonl and Chinnakaḍabūru, villages in the Bellary District which along with parts of northern Mysore and Kanara would have represented the southern limits of the Sātavāhana empire in the second century A.D. It is also probable that Sātavāhanihāra was exposed to Cuṭu and *Mahārāṣṭhi* attacks. That, under the Ikṣvākus, the title had become a feudatory one is certain.

These feudatory titles seem to have not only survived the Sātavāhana rule in the Deccan but spread as far south as Mysore. We hear of a *Mahārāṣṭhi* in the Chitaldoorg District, who struck coins in his name and of a *Mahārāṣṭhīnī* in Kanheri and Banavāsī inscriptions of the line of Hāritiputa Cuṭukulananda Sātakaṇi. The same inscriptions show the Cuṭus intimately connected with the *Mahābhōjas* and *Mahārāṣṭhis*. It may be that the Cuṭus (who succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the south and in parts of the western dominions), themselves started as *Mahārāṣṭhis* or *Mahābhōjas*. But unlike the title of *Mahāsenāpati*, these titles do not seem to have spread to the Āndhra dominions of the Sātavāhanas; much less did they become *Mahāsāmanta*.⁵²

.....is not explicitly mentioned. But, considering the position of these persons, one might hazard the guess that these.....were feudal lords of the lands, holding them in the form of *jāgīra*." For reasons given below, what is read as *Gmika* is to be read as *Gāmika*; and this considerably weakens the force of his arguments.

D. C. Sircar (*Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan*, p. 15) says that under the Sātavāhanas, the *Mahāsenāpatīs* were feudatory chieftains in charge of *rāṣṭras*. We do not know upon what evidence this statement rests.

52. It is tempting to connect the *Bhōjaka* and *Mahābhōja* of our inscriptions with the *bhogika* and the *Mahābhogika* of the later records. In the Gupta inscriptions the son of a *Bhogika* is in charge of the drafting of the order or charter. (Fleet GI, pp. 100, 105, 109, 120, etc.). In the inscriptions of the Gūrjara Buddharāja (Kalacūri *Saṃvat* 361 EI, Vol. VI, p. 298), Dadda II, Prasāntarāja (Kalacūri *Saṃvat* 380 and 385 respectively, IA, Vol. XIII, pp. 82-88) and Jayabhaṭṭa III (IA, Vol. V; p. 116); the *Bhogikas* are mentioned after *Rājas*, *Sāmantas* and before *Viṣṇupatis* and *Rāstrādhipātrikas*. What is interesting, both *Bhogika* and *Bhōja* literally mean 'one who enjoys'. Both refer to rulers of districts also. (*Bhogika* may also be connected to *Bhogapati*, i.e., a governor or officer in charge of revenue). According to the lexicographer Hemacandra, both *Bhogika* and *Bhōjaka* mean 'village headman.' But the fact that the *Mahābhōjas* are not referred to in any inscription after the second century A.D., the long interval that separates the *Mahābhogikas* from the *Mahābhōjas* and the technical nature of the titles, make any connection between them problematical.

Officials and administrative divisions

Barring the districts enjoyed by the feudatories, the empire was divided into *āhāras* (including the Andhra province), e.g. Sopārahāra,⁵³ Govadhanahāra,⁵⁴ Māmālāhāra⁵⁵ and Sātavahanihāra.⁵⁶ An *āhāra* would represent the same territorial division as the *rāṣṭra* of Pallava records, the *visaya* of the records of kings of the Śālaṅkāyana gotra, and the modern district.⁵⁷ Can we draw from the compound *araṇhasamvināyikam*, which is translated by Senart⁵⁸ as 'exempt from the magistrate of the district or of the Rāṣṭrin,' the inference that some divisions of the Sātavāhana empire were called *rāṣṭras*? Such technical expressions are often, conventional and in not one of the inscriptions of the Sātavāhana period is a territorial division called *rāṣṭra*. *Āhāras* were under governors called *amacas* (Sanskrit, *amātya*) who were non-hereditary officers.⁵⁹ Quinquennial transfer was in force. Each *āhāra* presumably received its name from the headquarters of the governor (*nagara*); Kūdūra (the Koddura of Ptolemy) is known to us from an Amarāvati inscription of the second century A.D.⁶⁰ and yet we hear of Kūdūrahāra only in a copper-plate grant of the third century A.D.⁶¹

In a Kanḥēri inscription, which, on palaeographical grounds, can be ascribed to the time of Śīri-Yaṇa Sātakaṇi,⁶² we have the expressions *Paṭṭhāṇe* and *Rājatalāka-Paṭṭhāṇapathe*. Could we translate the latter as "the village of Rājataḍāka (King's Tank) in the Paṭṭhāṇa division"? If *Rajatalāka* is a mistake for 'Rajatalāke' it would mean "in Rājataḍāka in the Paṭṭhāṇa division."⁶³ The analogous expression *Amdhāpata* (*Āndhrapatha*) in the Mayidavolu plates, which is synonymous with *Āndhrarattṭha*, makes it

53. Kanḥēri No. 3, Vol. IV.

54. Nāsik No. 3, EI, Vol. VIII.

55. Kārlā No. 19, EI, Vol. VII.

56. Jaṅgli Gundu inscription of Puṣumāvi III, EI, Vol. XIV, p. 155.

57. *Vide supra*.

58. Nāsik Nos. 3, 4, and 5, EI, Vol. VIII. Also VII, p. 68.

59. The *amaca* of the Kodavolu inscription of Cāda Sāti and the *rājama* of Kudā No. 18 (CTI), might have been governors of *āhāras*. Sometimes, however, treasurers and officers in charge of the drafting of charters bear the same title (Nāsik Nos. 4 and 19).

60. Lüders, *List*, No. 1235.

61. The Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman, EI, Vol. VI, p. 315ff.

62. No. 5 ASWI, Vol. V; Compare No. 4.

63. Lüders leaves the expression untranslated.

highly probable that 'patha' literally 'path or road' is synonymous with *āhāra* (district);⁶⁴ may be the district of *Paithāna* which contained the seat of the king and was perhaps under the direct control of the king, was distinguished from the other divisions in this way.⁶⁵

The next division below that of *āhāra* is *pāma* (*grāma*). From the *Saptasatakam* of Hāla we learn that the officer in charge of a village was called *Gāmika* (*Grāmika*). In the *Jaṅgli Guṇḍu* inscription of *Pujumāvi* we come across a *Gāmika*.⁶⁶

The other functionaries known to us are the *Mahatarakas*, *Mahā-āryakas*,⁶⁷ *Bhāṇḍāgārikas*,⁶⁸ *Heranikas*,⁶⁹ *Mahāmātas*

64. It has been shown that the *Pallava* *raṭṭha* is synonymous with *āhāra*.

65. In the *Alina* copper plates of Śīlāditya VII (year 447) we have the expression *Śrī Khejakhārē Uppalahēta pathakē Mahā (74)beḥ n(ā)ma-grāmāḥ*. *Pathaka* which Dr. Fleet (*CIL*, Vol. III, p. 173, n.) connects with *pathin* or *patha* represents here a territorial division between *āhāra* and *grāma*.

66. V. S. Sukthankar would read it as '*Gāmikasa*' (*Gaṇmīkasya*—of the Captain) which, according to him, would agree with the *Mahāsēnāpatia* of the preceding line. True in the *Hira-Haḍagaḷi* plates, coming from the same district, *Gāmikas* are mentioned. But since, the officer over a *gāma* (*grāma*) is mentioned and as the *n* sign is not visible on the plates, it is safer to read it as '*G(ā)mika*.'

67, 68 & 69. *Mahataraka* means the Great Chamberlain. Hemacandra in the *Deśikaśā* (I. 16), gives *arha* in the sense of an official, e.g., the lord of a village. Etymology would therefore seem to be unsafe guide in the interpretation of official terms. As regards the *Mahā-āryaka* mentioned in *Nāsik* No. 3, Senart says (*EL*, Vol. VIII, p. 68: ".....the part the monks are playing in the first sentence seems to point to the name being that of a religious personage. Even admitting that the title *araka* given to *Yasasiri-Sātakaṇi* (*Siri-Yasā Sātakaṇi*) by an inscription (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 90) be really *āryaka*, that would in no way prevent this epithet, which is commonly used with reference to Buddhist monks, being applied to some religious functionary. I am the more inclined to think so, because I find the similar title *Chūla-ārya* conferred on the *Ārya* *Buddharakshita*; who is styled *Arhat* (*Burgess' Buddhist Stūpas of Anuravati*, Plate lix. No. 39, p. 104)." He also compares this title to that of *Mahāsāmiya* in *Nāsik* No. 4. But *Mahā-ārya* is used in the singular, while the title of *Mahāsāmiya* is used in the plural. The latter is perhaps an instance of *pluralis maiestatis*, in which case it would not point to a college of religious functionaries. *Mahat-araka* (Sansk. *Mahat-āryaka*), an official title, is mentioned in the *Chinna Ganjam* inscription of *Siri-Yasā Sātakaṇi*, and the way in which our *Mahā-āryaka* is connected with the village of *Samalipada* ('This village of *Sāmalipada*... by the *Mahā-āryaka*, you (*amaca*), must deliver to be owned by the *Bhikṣu*, of the school of the *Bhadāyānyas*), seems to point to a secular official, one in charge of a

(*Mahāmātras*) in charge of Buddhist monks,⁷⁰ the *Nibandhakāras* or officers in charge of the registration of documents (the *Akṣapatalikas* of later times),⁷¹ the *Pratīhāras*, the *Dūtakas* who carried royal orders, and the *Amacas* in charge of drafting royal orders. From a Nāsik inscription of Uṣavadāta we learn that every town had a records office.⁷²

APPENDIX A

The Allūru Inscription

One of the notable discoveries of the Epigraphy Department in the year 1924 was that of a Brāhmī inscription on a fragment of a marble pillar at Allūru, a village in the Nandigama taluq of the Kṛṣṇā district. The pillar under reference must originally have belonged to the Buddhist Stūpa which stands at about two furlongs to the west of the village. The Epigraphy Report for the year ending with March 31, 1924 contains a photograph of a facsimile of the inscription and a short note on it. It was subsequently edited by Dr. R. Shamasastry in the *Calcutta Review* for the year 1925. His reading misses the truth in many a place.

gāma perhaps. Lastly in the Amarāvati evidence cited by Senart, Cula-Arya is a name and not a title conferred on Arya-Buddharakṣita. (68) Nāsik No. 19, El. Vol. VIII. *Bhāṇḍagārika* which may mean both store-keeper and treasurer is better construed here as store-keeper as in cognate records. *Heranika*, is the term for treasurer. (69) The various forms are *Heranika*, *Heranika*, *Heranika*, *Heranika*; this term which occurs in the inscriptions at Kanheri, Nāsik, Amarāvati, and Bhāṭṭiprōlu is better construed as treasurer, as in them *samantakāra* is the term for goldsmith (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 986 and 1117). If the treasurer Dhammanaka of No. 993, is identical with Dhammanaka, son of the treasurer Rohanimita of Nos. 996 and 1033, the office would seem to have been, at least to some extent, hereditary. At times we come across a treasurer who was the son of a merchant or a *gaḥapati* (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1239 and 1249).

70. Senart (*ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 93) however considers the translation of *Nāstakena, samantena Mahāmātena* as 'by the officer in charge of the monks of Nāsik,' as hypothetical.

71. Senart (*ibid.*, p. 74) takes them to be *Dūtakas* carrying the orders for registration. Senart himself has happily explained the meaning of *nibandh* by a reference to Yājñavalkya I, 317. Says he: "*nibandh* was perhaps a kind of the royal decision in the archives of the state." In such a case the meaning given to *Nibandhakāra* here is more apt than the one proposed by Senart.

72. '*Nigamasabhāga nibandha ca phalakaṭṭhāre*', *ibid.*, No. 12.

My reading of the inscription is as follows: The beginning line or lines of the inscription are lost.

1. (ai)lasa Maḍa(vi)sa ca.....
2. sa rāmo vihāro deyaḍhama parica....
3. nigala-simāya Vetarakuḍo Na(ga)..
4. ti Khetasārasa Pāpikala simāya...
5. nivatanāni rāja datini. Caratthe Macha...
6. (pa)da-simāya batisa nivatanāni Rā..
7. (c)erapura-simāya ca (tu) viṣa-nivatanāni..
8. ḍalasa gāvina pacasatāni (co) yathi baliva(da)
9. sakadani pesa-rupāni dāsi-dāsasa catā 1 (isa)..
10. kubhi kaḍāhasa catari lehiyo be kaḍ(ā)hāni (kasa)..
11. (sa) bhāyanām catāri vadālābhikaro karodiyo (yo)
12. (na)ka-divikāyo ca Ataragiriya pica-pake taḷaka(ni)
13. kāhāpanāna ca purāṇaṁ sahasam akhayanā v(i)
14. eṣā mahātala-varasa deya-dhama paricāko
15. ata Pedatarapase bāpana-nivatanāni
16. eta sabhāriyasa saputakasa sanatukasa
17. Ayirāna Puvaseliyāna nigāyasa....

The rest of the inscription is lost. It mentions the gifts made by many, including a king, who perhaps out of modesty omits his name, a unique feature in our records. The first two lines speak of an Aila (Aira, or Ārya) Maḍavi. Then comes the gift of something within the limits of Vetarakuḍa. Next is mentioned the gift of a beautiful viḥāra, perhaps by the side of the Stūpa, of some nivatanas of land within the limits of Pāpikala (for the identification of Pāpikala, see the chapter on the Ikṣvākus). Then come the gifts of 32 nivatanas of land within the limits of Macha-pada in the raṭha of Ca, and 24 nivatanas of land within the limits of the town of Rā--cerpura, 500 cows, 64 bullock carts, 40 servants some cauldrons, especially two brass cauldrons, 4 bronze vessels, some hand lamps of the vādala fish shape, some Yonaka lamps, a tank in the vicinity of Ataragiri, and one thousand purāṇa kāhāpanas as a permanent endowment; 52 nivatanas of land were the gifts of a Mahātalavara along with his wife, son and grandson. All these gifts were for the (acceptance of) the school of the Pubbaseliyas....

The use of a peculiar form of ai which comes close to the Vaṭ-ṭeṭuttu ai is noteworthy. I am indebted for this reading to Mr. K. N. Dikṣit. It is clear that in this record the Mahātalavara is playing a more important role than even the king.

As D. C. Sircar has also pointed out what was read by Dr. Sharma Sastry *jayadhama* is only *deyadhama* (l. 2). What has been read as *caradhama* is undoubtedly *Caratke Ma-pada* (l. 5). What is read as *Sanasa kata* (made by Sana) King of the Ayis (*Ayirāṇaḥ* is interpreted as King of the Ayis), is only *saṃaru kasa* (with his grandson) (l. 16) and *Ayirāṇaḥ* refers to the school of Pubbaseliyas mentioned in the same inscription.



CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

I. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Amarāvati and western cave inscriptions give us an insight into the social organisation of the Deccan from the second century B.C. to third century A.D., and from the Amarāvati sculptures we get a vivid picture of life in the *Āndhradeśa*. The fourfold division of society—the caste system—prevailed. We hear of Uśavadāta's charities and gifts to numerous Brahmins. Gotami-puta Śrī-Sātakaṇi boasts of having prevented the contamination of the four castes and of having been the true supporter of Brahmins. Yet one of his descendants took his wife from the Śaka satrapal family and the Śakas were looked upon as degraded Kṣatriyas. It is doubtful whether Buddhism toned down the caste system even to the extent to which these foreign elements in society did. At Kuṇḍa an upāsaka Ayitilu calls himself *Brahmāṇa*.¹ His wife is called *Brahmanī*. Mahādevaṇṇaka of a Kārlā inscription who would seem to be Ayitilu's son bears the title of *gahata* (Sansk. *gṛhastha*). In the *śārmā* ending in the names of Buddhists, monks and laymen, we have probably one of the Brahmanical vestiges in the Buddhist communities.² Kṣatriyas would sometimes seem to have followed the profession of the Vaiśya caste. In a Kanheri inscription Gajasena and Gajami (ts), the Khātiya brothers, follow the profession of *udpijakas*.³ Unfortunately the lacunae before *khātiyasa*, makes the meaning of the word not quite certain. The sub-castes met with in inscriptions are those of the *hālaka* or *hālīka*⁴ (ploughman), *mūrdhaka* (according to the *Śabdaratna*

1. ASWI, Vol. IV, No. 13.

2. ASWI, Vol. IV, Junnar No. 19, p. 36; Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1101 and 1102. However *śārmā* ending in names does not always indicate Brahmanical origin. In an Amarāvati inscription a *vēsiya* (belonging to the Vaiśya caste probably) bears the name Bodhisahman (TSW 1873, p. 261, No. 8). See also Fleet CII, Vol. III, p. 11, n.

3. ASWI, Vol. V, Kanheri Inscriptions No. 4.

4. Lüders is in doubt as to whether *hālīka* in No. 1064, is only a personal name, or a variation of *hālaka*. An Amarāvati inscription (EI, Vol. XV; Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions, No. 56), makes it certain that *hālīka* is not a personal name. Wherefore it must be identical with *hālaka*.

Petersburg Dict. s.v.) a branch of the Kṣatriyas, and *polika* (herdsman).⁵

Foreign Elements in Hindu and Buddhist Society

(i) *Yavanas*.—Yona or Yavana is an Indian form of the word Ionian. In literature Yavana refers to all kinds of foreigners or *Mlecchas*. At the present day the term Yona is applied by the Sinhalese to the 'Moormen' or Arabs some of whose families have been settled in Ceylon for centuries. It is however more than probable that Yavana of our inscriptions denotes the Greeks. For, the Yonas of Asoka's inscriptions placed with the Kāmboja's and the Gāṇdhāras in the north-west are certainly the Greek element that Alexander's invasion and Seleucus' empire left in the north-western India; as our inscriptions mention Śakas and Yavanas,⁶ a confusion between Śakas and Yavanas is ruled out; as the term Yavana occurs in the inscriptions of the foreigners also, it is improbable that they did not clearly state their racial affinities.

We do not know how and when these Yavanas entered western Deccan. According to the *Mahāvastu*, some 250 years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, the Yona priest Dhammarakhita was sent to Aparānta as a missionary,⁷ while the priest Mahārakhita was sent to the Yona country. This shows that there was already in western Deccan a large element of foreign—Yavana—population. Yavana Tuṣāṣpa was governor of Surāṣṭra under Asoka. According to Strabo, Menander, the Greek prince, penetrated into 'Isamus' (Jumna) and subjugated Patalene (the Indus delta) and Saraostes (Surāṣṭra). This statement is corroborated by the curious observation of the author of the *Periplus* that the coins of Apollodotus and Menander were current in his time at Barygaza.⁸ Of a crowd of Yavanas in western India thoroughly Indianised we hear in the inscriptions at Kārlā.⁹ A Sāñcī inscription mentions a Yavana.¹⁰

5. ASWL, Vol. IV, Junnar No. 2 pp. 32 ff.

6. Nisāk, No. 2, EI, Vol. VIII, speaks of Śakas, Palhavas and Yavanas.

7. *Mahāvastu*, Geiger p. 82 and Intro. xxxi; lvii.

8. Schoff, *The Periplus*, pp. 41; 42, and Sec. 47.

9 & 10. Sten Konow is of opinion, that the 'Yavanas' of the Kārlā inscriptions wherever it is followed by a name in the genitive plural, is a personal name. Lüders looks upon Yona in No. 547 also as a personal name. There are weighty considerations to be brought forward against this view. Firstly it is improbable that many persons bore the same name Yavana. The ethnicon Yavana denoted to the Indian a foreigner whom he looked upon as a de-

As these inscriptions are incised on the Cetiya cave pillars, they are as old as the cave itself. The palaeography of the oldest Kārlā inscriptions would support a first century B.C. date for the Cetiya cave. It is possible then, that the Yavanas entered the

graded Kṣatriya; it is therefore improbable that Indians bore 'Yavana' as a personal name. Much less could a Yavana have done so.

While Sten Konow looks upon the names in the plural found along with the word 'Yavana' as a family or corporation name, Senart looks upon them as personal names in the genitive plural. Senart looks upon the genitive plural in *Sāhādhiyānānān* in Kārlā No. 7 (EI, Vol. VII), as a personal name in the plural (*pluralis maiestatis*), and following him M. Swarup Vats has treated the other names in the genitive plural in the other Yavana inscriptions as personal names. In all the Kārlā epigraphs and in the Yavana epigraphs at Junnar (CTI Nos. 5 and 33), the personal name is in the singular while the family name is in the plural—'*Okhalokiyānān Mahātrāṣiān Kosikiputān Mitoderaśa*' (Kārlā No. 14 EI, Vol. VII), '*Yavanasa Irilasa Gatānān*' and '*Yavanasa Citasa Gatānān*' (Junnar, Nos. 5 and 8; ASWI; Vol. IV, pp. 93 and 94). It is therefore, not proper to consider *Candānān* (Junnar) *Cudayakhānān*, *Dhamadhayānān*, *Vitasaṅghatānān*, *Simhasaṅghatānān* and *Yasavandhanān* (Kārlā) as personal names. The Junnar inscription under reference is assigned by Dr. Burgess to the first century B.C. on palaeographical grounds, and it is the period of the Kārlā Cetiya cave. In the Sāñci Yavana inscription we miss the personal name—'*Setapathiyasa Yonasa dānān*.' In Lüders, Nos. 82 and 1035 the personal names of the donors are omitted though their potras are mentioned. While editing the Sāñci inscriptions, Dr. Bühler remarks (EI, Vol. II, p. 94): 'Peculiar and noteworthy are the names of monks and nuns, which like Kābaja, Prātthāsa, Chirāṭi, and perhaps also Oḍi, consist of adjectives derived from the names of countries, towns and races. In these cases it would seem that the real name of the donors has been left out.'

Senart translates the compound 'Dharmma-Yavanasa' in Kārlā No. 10 in the same way as Bühler did viz., 'of Dharmma, a Yavana.' He adds: "..... the simple name of Dharmma applied to a Buddhist surprises me..... I feel tempted to take Dharmma..... in a specifically Buddhist sense, and to understand by *dhammāṅgama* 'a member of the guild of Buddhist merchants'; compare *niṃmesabbhā* at Nāsik (No. 12, l. 4). On this analogy Dharmma-Yavana would be 'the community of the Buddhist Yavanas' or rather a Buddhist Yavana who has modestly omitted his personal name" (EI, Vol. VII, p. 56). Lüders considers Dharmma-Yavana as the name. But in a Nāgārjunikonda inscription Dharmma occurs as a personal name (EI, Vol. XX, Ins. J). Dharmilla, a name of very common occurrence, is only Dharmma with the *la* suffix. Names Cetiya and Sagha are of the Dharmma class. Nor is the compound a source of difficulty. In the Nāsik inscription of the time of Abhira-Iśvarasena we have the compound *Śivadatt-Abhiraputrasya*; the analogy is not, however, very close, since a compound is necessary in the latter case and since the one inscription is in Prakṛt and the other in Sanskrit. In an Amarāvati inscription (EI, Vol. XV, No. 11) we have *So[m]ghaśasamanasa*; *So[m]ghaśa* cannot be anything else than a

Sātavāhana dominions in the wake of Śaka conquest. The Yavanas who are credited with donations at Kārlā are: one of the Sirīhadhaya family, one of the Yasavadhana family, one of the Dhamadhaya family, and one by name Dhama.

As all the Kārlā Yavanas except one, profess to be natives of Dhenukākāṭa, this place would seem to have contained a Yavana settlement. As most of the donors in the Kārlā inscriptions, come from Dhenukākāṭa,¹¹ and as the place name occurs frequently in Kārlā epigraphs and once in an inscription at Śailārwaḍi, a place very near Kārlā, it has to be sought for in the vicinity of Kārlā. It would therefore seem to have been included in Māmākhāra.¹²

A point that deserves mention is that these Yavanas besides embracing Buddhism adopted thoroughly Hindu personal and family names.¹³ They use Prakṛt in their inscriptions and it is not unreasonable to infer that they adopted Hindu manners and customs. This is no wonder since even a casual visitor to Ujjain from the kingdom of Antalkidas became a Bhāgavata.¹⁴ So completely did the Yavanas merge into Hindu society that Indian Buddhists had no scruples whatsoever in joining with these foreigners in making donations. The Kārlā Cetiya cave was a result of such a joint effort.

(ii) Śakas.—Like the Yavanas, the Śakas too merged into Hindu society. The Śaka son-in-law of Nahapāna bears the Indian name Uśavadāta (Sans. Ṛṣabhadatta), while his father bears the un-Indian name Dīnīka. Another Śaka bears the name Agnīvar-

personal name. Lüders, *List*, No. 1283. The analogy between *Dharmamānasa* and *Dharmā-Yavana* suggested by Senart breaks down at every step. Yavana is not like *nigama*, a collective noun. Another objection is that in all the other Kārlā epigraphs either the family name or the personal name or both appear. [Dr. Tarn has suggested that *Dharmā-Yavana* was a naturalized citizen of an Indo-Greek polis. See, however, *JRAS* 1939 pp. 217 ff and 1940 pp. 179 ff—Ed.] (10) *EI*, Vol. II, p. 395, No. 364.

11. *EI*, Vol. VII, Nos. 4, 6 and 10, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3, 4, 9, 11 and 12.

12. It is mentioned once at Kanheri. Lüders, *List*, No. 1020.

13. In Nasik No. 18, *EI*, Vol. VIII, we hear of a Yonaka from Dattāmītrī. According to Bühler, it is the same as Demetrias, a town in Arachosia, mentioned by Isidore of Kharax. He bears the name Indrāgnidatta, his father is called Dharmadeva, and his son Dharmarakhita.

14. It is stated in the *Milinda Pañho* that the Yavana king Milinda (generally identified with Menander) was converted to Buddhism by the teacher Nāgasena. According to a legend mentioned by Plutarch no less than seven cities fought for his ashes. (*IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 337).

man, and his daughter that of Viṣṇudattā. A fourth bears the name Vudhika (Sans. Vṛddhika).¹⁵ If Nahapāna was a Pahlava, even Pahlavas would seem to have followed the example of Yavanas and Śakas, for Nahapāna's daughter bears the Indian name Dakṣamitrā.

Unlike our Yavanas all of whom are Buddhists, Śakas embraced both Brahmanism and Buddhism. Kuṣā inscriptions mention a Brahman upāsaka named Ayitū, and according to Senart, it is a foreign name corrupted and curiously reminding us of Azilizes.¹⁶ Śaka Uṣavadāta's charities to Brahmins and Brahman institutions stamp him as a staunch adherent of the Brahmanical religion. We are told that he gave money and tīrtha on the river Bārpāsā and also 300,000 cows and 16 villages to Brahmins. He bathed at the Pokṣara tanks and gave the Brahmins 3000 cows and a village. He also gave eight wives to Brahmins and fed thousands of them all the year round. The Carakas also received something at his hands. In a Nāsik inscription, however Uṣavadāta says that "inspired by true religion, in the Trirāśmi hills at Govardhana" he caused a cave¹⁷ to be made. Says Senart: "I dare not decide if this phrase (*dharmātmanā*) implies an express conversion to Buddhism, or only puts a first gift in favour of Buddhism in contrast with the previous grants which were inspired by Brāhmanical feelings. I do not think the wording allows us to settle this shade of meaning. On the strength of this explanation I propose in N. 13 to take *dharmātmanā* in a similar way. I believe the reading 'tmanā, not 'tmano, is certain, and the manner in which the construction is interrupted after the preceding genitives confirms the impression that *dharmātmanā* is intentionally put forward, in order to dwell on the fact of a change having taken place in the religious belief or inclination of the donor Indrāgnidatta," (a Śaka). If reliance could be placed upon names, Indrāgnidatta's father and son would both seem to have been Buddhists. As three years after the foundation of his Nāsik cave Uṣavadāta makes donations to Brahmins, his change of faith is extremely improbable.¹⁸

15. In No. 26, EI, Vol. VIII we have Śakasa Damacikasa lekhanasa Vudhikasa Viṣṇudata-putasa Daṣapuravāthavasa. As the donor's race and father's name are mentioned Damacika is the name of his native town. Senart, however, does not agree with Bhagwanlal who looks upon it as a corruption of Damascus.

16. EI, Vol. VII, p. 52.

17. Govardhane Trirāśmiṣu parvateṣu dharmātmanā idāni leṣam kṛtitaṁ, EI, Vol. VIII, p. 78, No. 10.

18. The cave was consecrated in the year 42.

Viṣṇudattā, the daughter of Śaka Indrāgnidatta, was an upāsikā. As Dr. Bhandarkar observes: "These Śaka kings (Western Ksatrapas) had thus become so thoroughly Hinduised that another Hindu royal dynasty (the Sātavāhana) had no scruples whatever, social or religious, in entering into matrimonial relationship with them."¹⁹

We do not hear of the Śakas and Yavanas in the Sātavāhana dominions in the western Deccan after the second century A.D. The epithet *Saka-Yavana-Palhava-nisūdanasa* applied to Gotami-puta Siri-Sātakaṇi seems to be no mere boast; evidently he drove out these foreigners from his newly rebuilt empire—the Śakas were only to return in the wake of Rudradāman's conquest for a short time.

Yavanas and Śakas in Eastern Deccan

Of Yavanas in the eastern Deccan we hear nothing; it is however certain that Graeco-Roman influences played a great part in the fashioning of the Amarāvati tope, and as will be shown below the inscription from Allūru²⁰ is another piece of evidence for Greek influence. Of the Śakas we hear something. An Amarāvati inscription of the second century A.D., mentions a Saka-giri (not (Ś)akagiri as read by Chanda, or Pi(Śi?) giri as read by F. W. Thomas).²¹ Another mentions a '.....ratika Nekhavana,' and Nekhavana curiously reminds us of the Persian name Nahapāna.²² More Śakas would seem to have entered eastern Deccan in the wake of the marriage of Virapurisadāta with the daughter of a Western Ksatrapa. A Nāgārjunikoṇḍa epigraph²³ mentions a Śaka Moda,²⁴ and his Buddhist sister Budhi. Among the sculptures excavated by Mr. Longhurst at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa there are two showing a warrior in Scythian dress.

Family

At Amarāvati not only father and mother, but also sons and daughters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, and brothers and

19. IA. Vol. XL, p. 15.

20. Vide *infra*.

21. Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions, No. 55, EI, Vol. XV, and Pl. facing p. 273.

22. *Ibid.*, No. 54.

23. EI, Vol. XX, p. 37.

24. Sanskrit moda means 'joy.' This is an instance of an Indian name borne by a Śaka.

sisters, are associated with the donor. The wife has a place above the brothers and sisters, the son enjoys precedence over the daughter and the daughter over the daughter-in-law. At Kanbēri and Nāsik the donor is mentioned with all his blood relations, and so high was the social sense in the Buddhist world that the donor shared the merit of his donations with all his fellow beings.²⁵ Could we infer from what we have stated above that the joint-family system was in vogue?²⁶ Could Amarāvati No. 38, which speaks of Khadā and 'his daughter-in-law in her house' show that it was at the time going to pieces or had done so?

Women

Women occupied a prominent position in society. The idea of woman being the chattel of her lord with no rights and privileges which make life worth living, was quite alien to the period. In the western cave and Amarāvati inscriptions we come across a bevy of ladies making sometimes very costly donations. A great number of the exquisitely sculptured rail pillars, *torṇas* and *stūpas* at Amarāvati were donated by ladies. Of the nearly 145 epigraphs from Amarāvati 72, out of the 30 at Kuḍā 13, out of the 29 from Nāsik 16, either record gifts by ladies or gifts in which the ladies are associated. The *Cetiṣyagharas* at Nāsik and Kuḍā were founded by ladies. Women joined hands with men in the construction of the *Caitya* cave at Kārlā, 'the most excellent (?) mansion in *Jambudvīpa*.' The base to the right of the central door carved with rail pattern, and a similar piece on the left were the gifts of two nuns. A belt of rail pattern on the inner face of the gallery was also a *bhikkhuni's* gift. The remaining pillar on the open screen in front of the verandah was the gift of a housewife. These instances unmistakably show that ladies were allowed to possess property of their own. At Nāsik, a Śaka lady (*Viṣṇudattā*) gives to the *Saṅgha* of Nāsik more than 3500 *karṣapāṇas*. Ladies even

25. ASWI, Vol. V, Kanbēri Inscriptions, No. 9.

26. The word *superidra* in the Nāsik Kanbēri and Junnar epigraphs is translated by Senart as 'with his (or her) next.' He remarks (EI, Vol. VIII, p. 77): "It is, I think, too precise to translate *superidra* by 'with his family'..... *Parivāra* may, together with the family or even excluding it, apply to companions of the donor, fellow-workers or caste-partners." In Junnar No. 7 (ASWI, Vol. IV) the donor associates with him his son in the merit of his donations and in No. 9 his *parivāra*. As it is probable that in both cases he has associated with him the same kind of persons, *parivāra* would refer to members of the family only. In Kanbēri No. 18, (ASWI, Vol. IV), we have *bitiyikāya* *ca* *śāhā parivāra* and in No. 27 *sarvasesa kulasya*.

got the titles of their husbands e.g., *Mahābhōjī*, *Mahārāṣhinī*, *Bhōjīkī*, *Kuṭumbinī*, *Gahinī*, *Vaṇigimī* etc. In the Amrāvati sculptures we often come across ladies, worshipping Buddhist emblems, taking part in assemblies, playing on instruments, enjoying music and dance and entertaining guests along with their husbands. In one of the panels of an outer rail pillar,²⁷ we find depicted a disputation between a chief and another, and the audience consists mostly of women who are represented as taking keen interest in what is going on. In some panels they are represented as watching processions. Widows were to shun ornaments and to be bent on self-control and restraint and penance.²⁸

On dress and ornaments, the Amarāvati stones, and the figures cut in the western caves, furnish ample information. Except in some minor details, the dress and ornaments in vogue on both sides of the Deccan are the same. The most striking item of the dress of ladies and men is the head-dress as in the Indus valley. The former have their hair divided in front and running down to a knot at the back. Hung on the knot is a cord of twisted cloth or hair drawn in two or four rows. Sometimes we come across two strings in four rows ending in tassels. Some ladies have their hair done in a pointed knot sideways.²⁹ In some the knot is done near the forehead with a string of beads. In western Deccan ladies sometimes cover their heads with a piece of cloth.³⁰ Sometimes a thick cloth runs round their head. At Kuṭā a lady wears a long cap of conical shape. Perhaps it is the coiffure done to that shape. Generally a string or strings of beads adorn the forehead and the knots. Men wore high head-dress. The general custom was to have hair knotted in front and covered to a great extent by twisted cloth running down. The knot was adorned in front by a horse-shoe-shaped or *caitya*-arch-shaped ornament. Some Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa men wear knots unadorned by ornaments. Lay disciples and even servants have hair done in knots. In one of the Amarāvati sculptures a groom has let the hair run down and secured it by bands at three places. One of the male figures in the façade of the *Caitya* cave at Kaphēri has a very low turban fully ornamented, the ornaments even hiding the knot of hair on the left.

27. ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. XI, Fig. 2.

28. Kuṭā Sculptures CTI, Pl. facing page 10. Nāsik inscription, No. 2, EI, Vol. VIII.

29. ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. XV, No. 3.

30. The Kārli *Caitya* cave figures.

Women are as scantily dressed as men, and sometimes even more so. Twisted cloth running in two or three rows below the waist and knotted at the right, the ends, however, hanging from the knots, and sometimes also four or five strings of beads held together by a clasp, constituted the main part of their dress. Men wear an undercloth. There is only one instance among our sculptures of a woman covering her breasts. Laymen and monks and perhaps others also had also a loin cloth, part of which was thrown over their shoulders. The cloth worn by Brahmins covers them down to their knees. Some men have twisted cloth thrown over their shoulders. At Amarāvati and Nāgarjunikoṇḍa we also come across men in breeches and long tunic—perhaps Śakas.³¹

Men and women alike wore ornaments. Heavy rings, sometimes two in each ear, sometimes rows of beads joined together, constituted their ear ornament. Even kings wore ear ornaments. The representations of Vāsīṭhīputa Śiri-Sātakani and Śiri-Yañia Śātakani on their silver coins show us well-punched ears.³² Both men and women wore bracelets and bangles with this difference, that sometimes women wore bracelets covering the whole of the upper arm, and bangles running up to the elbow. Men did not wear anklets while all women had them.³³ Sometimes the anklets are heavy rings, two for each leg, while in other cases each is a spiral of many columns. Both men and women, even servants, wore necklaces—strings of beads and of medallions. The noses of women were unadorned as it seems to have been at the Indus Valley. In this connection it is interesting to note a description of some of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu remains given by Rea in his *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*. They are coral beads, beryl-drops, yellow crystal beads, amethyst beads, double hollow beads, garnet, trinacrias, pierced pearls, coiled gold rings and gold flowers of varying sizes.

Luxuries

Jugs, jars, and vessels of attractive shapes, chairs, tables, stools and cots seem to have been used by many. Whilst kings, great

31. ASSi, Vol. I, Pl. xlviii No. 2; ABIA 1927, Pl. vi.

32. In this connection it is interesting to note the head-dress worn by Sātavāhana kings as represented on their coins. Śiri-Yañia's head-dress consists of a strap on the forehead and from the temple locks of combined hair fall over the strap. Behind the head hangs a string knotted at the end, probably a braided lock of hair. Vāsīṭhīputa Śiri-Sātakani is represented with short curly hair.

33. For the solitary exception see TSW, 1868, Pl. No. LXII.

chiefs, and nobles rode fully caparisoned elephants and horses ordinary men used double-bullock carts much like those that are in use at the present day. It is also surprising that the elephant goad represented on the Amarāvati marbles and on the coin of Āpilaka from central India are like those in use at the present day.

Names

Whilst Bhaṭṭiprōlu personal names are most of them not met with elsewhere,³⁴ those of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa are met with in the western caves. A few names like Samanadāsa, Samuda, Sāmaka, Reta, and Utara, which are common to Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, and the western cave inscriptions are to be attributed to Buddhism and the commercial intercourse.³⁵ Names of frequent occurrence are Siva, Sivakhada, Sivaguta, Sivadatta, Venḥu, Cada, Sagha, Kaṇha, Buddha, Buddharakhita, Buddhi, Sidhatha, Ananda, Damila,³⁶ Dhamma etc., and names into the composition of which Nāga, Khada, and Sāti enter. Names of rare occurrence are Camunā, Campa, Campurā, Vicita, Khumbha, Dusaka, Ukati etc., (Amarāvati) and Maḍavi (Allūru), Jebubhūti, Ahila,³⁷ Kuḷira Sayiti, Laṅḥinikā, Juvārinikā, Aparenuka etc. in the western caves. Sometimes the names of places and objects of worship are borne by persons e.g., Caltya,³⁸ Himala, and so on.³⁹ As at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, *cula* and *mahā* are prefixed to names in western Deccan. The usual suffixes are *la*, *ka*, *ra*, *ma*, *maka*, and *da*. *Da* is however only used for *la* e.g., Māmāda headquarters of Māmālāhāra.⁴⁰ On this analogy Sāmaḍa, Haṁghaḍa and Kaṁdadā in an Amarāvati inscription are only Syāmala, Haṁghala, and

34. They are Banava, Odāla, Apakara, (in an Amarāvati inscription of the second or the first century B.C., the name Apakū occurs. *El*, Vol. XV, No. 8, p. 264), Ālinaka, Ghāleka, Būba, Ghakhā, Cagha, (probably a form of Sagha), Chadikogha, etc. These are to all appearance un-Āryan names.

35. *Vide infra*.

36. Lüders renders Damila as Draviḍa, (*List* No. 1243). As *la* suffix to names is common in our epigraphs, e.g., Sapa-Sapila, Budha-Budhila, Pusa-Pusila. Dama is the name to start from. Sanskrit and Prakṛt *dama* means 'patience'.

37. As *Ahi* means 'serpent' and *la* is a suffix, Ahila is identical with Sapila.

38. *ASWI*, Vol. IV, Junnar, No. 17, p. 95.

39. *El*, Vol. XV, *Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions*, No. 57.

40. *El*, Vol. VII, *Kārla Cave Inscriptions*, No. 19.

Kaṇḍalā. The common name endings are *anaka*,⁴¹ *mita*, *bhūti*, *deva*, *rakṣita*, etc. Some names are borne by ladies and men e.g., Kapha, Dharima, Nāga, Sātimita, Sulasadatta, Buddhi, Sivapālita, Sivadatta, and Sapīla. In Kuṣa No. 6, the sons of Sivama bear the names Sulasadatta, Sivapālita, Sivadatta, and Sappīla. His four daughters bear the same names.⁴² The practice of naming the grandsons after the grand-fathers was very common and it is noteworthy that ladies sometimes bear the names of their husband's masters.⁴³

Place Names

Many of the places mentioned in the western cave inscriptions can be identified. Govadhana (Govardhana), the headquarters of Govardhanābhāra, is the large modern village of Govardhan-Gaṅgāpur six miles west of Nāsik. Kāpura, the headquarters of Kāpurābhāra mentioned as a place where Uṣavadāta bestowed gifts on Brahmans, is, according to Bhandarkar, the Kāpura mentioned as the name of both the district and the headquarters on a copper-plate grant of the Traikūṭaka king Dharasena found at Pārṇi in the Surat collectorate.⁴⁴ Kāpura thus appears to correspond to the modern Surat district and was situated between the Sopārāga and Bharukaccha districts. It is possible that Kāpurābhāra and Kāpura are contraction for Kekāpurābhāra and Kekāpura mentioned also in an inscription of Uṣavadāta.⁴⁵ Dāhanūkānagara of Uṣavadāta's inscriptions is the modern Dāhanu in Thāṇa zillā. It would therefore seem to have derived its name from the river Dāhanukā, also mentioned in an inscription of Uṣavadāta.⁴⁶ The various villages mentioned as having been situated in the Govardhanābhāra are Dhambhikagāma in the Nāsik subdivision, or a suburb of Nāsik, Pisāji-

41. Burgess is of opinion that the explanation of the names Kapananaka and Agiyatanaka (Nāsik No. 4, ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 95) is doubtful. As 'anaka' is a common name ending, *kapasa* Sanskrit *kṛpasa* is what we have to consider. Rapson thinks that Agiyatanaka is perhaps Sanskrit *Āṅgika-trāṭā* the saviour of the Āṅgas (CIC, *Andhras and Western Kāstrapas*, etc.; xxi). It is more probable that 'anaka' is here as elsewhere a name ending, and Agiyata is a Prākṛt form and condensation of Agiyatātā Sanskrit *Āṅgika-trāṭā*.

42. ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 85. However one son is called Sappīla, whilst the daughter bears the name Sapā.

43. Kuṣa, No. 9, CFI.

44. IA, Vol. XLVII, p. 78.

45. Lüders, *List*, No. 1135.

46. EI, Vol. VIII, Nāsik, Cave Inscriptions, No. 10.

padaka on the south-west side of mount *Tirāṣṣu* (*Tirāśmi*),⁴⁷ and *Sudisana* on the southern road in the *Govardhana* district.⁴⁸ The other places mentioned in *Nāsik* inscriptions are *Chākalepa*,⁴⁹ *Piṇḍitakāvaḍa*, *Savarṇamukha*, *Ramatirīha* near *Sopārāga*, *Cecimā*, *Sākhā*, *Anugāmi* and *Daśapura*. As regards *Daśapura* mentioned in the inscriptions of *Uṣavadāta* and *Śaka Vudhika*, *Senart* says: "I see no means of choosing between the *Daśapura* in *Rajputana* (*Bühler*), that in *Malwa* (*Bhagwanlal*), or others which might be added, as *Mandasor*, etc. In No. 26 we see that some *Śakas* dwelt in that place; this is at least a hint that it ought to be searched for towards the north."⁵⁰ *D. R. Bhandarkar* prefers *Mandasor* since *Uṣavadāta*'s inscriptions mention places in the

47. *Nāsik*, Nos. 12 and 20, *El*, Vol. VIII.

48. As regards the two villages *Senart* remarks (*El*, Vol. VIII, p. 65): "*Bühler* seems to entertain no doubt as to the identity of the village named here with that mentioned at the beginning of the following inscription. It is certain that the date of the donation mentioned there is exactly the same as in the present epigraph, and that this donation is made in favour of the same sect of *Bhadrāyanīyas*. It is above all evident from the place it occupies, and from the fact that the following text has been compressed in order that it might be inscribed here, that that place has been chosen intentionally. It must, however, be stated that the village called here *Pisāji-padaka*, i.e., I suppose *Piśāchūpadaka*, gets in the following epigraph the name of *Sudisana*, and that the description is not identical in both texts, *Pisāji-padaka* being located at the S. W. of *Tirāphupavata*, and *Sudisana* at the south of the *Govardhanāhāra*. The two may after all be the same; but the difference in the name and description deserves to be noted, especially because a perfect agreement would naturally be expected. Further N. 3 brings in the *Śremanas* from *Dhanakaṭa*, who are not mentioned in connection with the donation which N. 2 records. It is therefore impossible to affirm that the beginning of N. 3 refers to the present donation; nor is it absolutely impossible that the king should have consented on the same day to a double donation, although it would, in that case, be difficult to understand why he should not have combined the mention of both." It has already been shown that there can be no connection between No. 3 and No. 2 as one records an official grant while the other records a non-official grant. Even the grant of the village of *Sudisana* was an official grant as the recording of it in the archives of the state is implied in the words '*Sud.....no gāmaṃ ca Sudasanaṃ viśādhakāreṇi anātā*' (I.14). The non-mention of the previous donation in a separate inscription is of course inexplicable under the circumstances.

49. "*Chhākalepa* or *Chhāgalepa*, a village or a town, a region or clan; has not yet been identified...." (*El*, Vol. VIII, p. 90). *Lüders*, *List*, Nos. 214, 477, 547, 626 and 937, make a place name more probable. On the analogy of *Pārvaṭīya*, *Chākalepaka* is more probable.

50. *El*, Vol. VIII, p. 79.

pradakṣiṇa order—Bharukaccha, Daśapura, Govardhana, and Sopāraga. As Ujjain which was for some time the Śaka capital was included in Nahapāna's kingdom, the choice is between Mandasor near Ujjain and Daśapura in Malwa.

The places mentioned in the Junnar inscriptions which from the context of the inscriptions would seem to have been near the caves are Puvānadagāma, Koṇācika Vaḍālikā, the village of Mahāveja, the village of Seuraka. Kapiṣṭha would seem to be the name of the locality in which the cave containing the Junnar inscription No. 15 is situated.⁵¹ Mānamukaḍa is the Mānmōḍi hill.

As regards Māmāḍa and Māmālāhāra⁵² mentioned in Kārlā inscription Burgess remarks: "The name Māmāla is evidently the ancient form of the modern Māval (Māul) : the change of medial *ma* to *va* is common in Marāṭhi; Māval being still the name of the tract along the Sāhyādri or Ghāt range, fully corresponds with the position of the ancient Māmāla. We have thus another proof that the lapse of two thousand years has not changed much the geographical names of Western India and its territorial divisions."⁵³ Vāloraka mentioned as village in Māmālāhāra designates, according to Burgess and Senart, the modern village of Kārlā a few miles from the caves. It is probable that Vihāragaon which the caves overlook designates Vāloraka.

The places mentioned in the eastern inscriptions are however difficult of identification. Velagiri mentioned in the Jagayyapēṭa inscriptions would designate the modern village of Jagayyapēṭa, probably deriving its name from the hill on which the ruins of Stūpa complex stand. Toḍatūra of the same inscriptions was situated in the Kammākarāṭha. Mahākamḍurūra would seem to have been outside Kammākarāṭha as unlike Toḍatūra it is not stated to be in the Kammākarāṭha.⁵⁴ The places mentioned at Amarāvati are Hiratūra, Kevurura, Kudūra, Turuḷūra,⁵⁵ Dēvaparakana, Mahava(i)-nasa(e)la, Maheśkhānāja, Narasa(se)la, Maṇḍara and Rājagiri. The last mentioned would seem to be identical with Rāyasela; Virapura of the same inscriptions may be the Viripara of the Mayidavōlu

51. ASWI, Vol. IV, pp. 30ff.

52. EI, Vol. VII, No. 19.

53. ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 113, n. 4.

54. The situation Kammākarāṭha has been discussed in the chapter on the Ikṣvākus.

55. ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. LVII, No. 17 and EI, Vol. XV, p. 274, No. 56. What is read as Turughura in this case is Turuḷūra.

plates. As Chadaka is mentioned twice at Amarāvati, and as Chadapavata is mentioned once in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription, they must not be far away from Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. A feature to be noted is the *ura* and *śala* ending in names. Amongst divisions may be mentioned Tompuki (?) district, Caratha and Aya-Sakasāthi⁵⁶ in which Suvarṇamukha was.

Military Arrangements

An Amarāvati inscription of the third century B.C., speaks of a *Seṇāgopa Mudukutala*. In later times *Mahāśendapatis* would sometimes seem to have been in charge of armies. The traditional four-fold division of the army mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela, obtained in the Śātavāhana dominions. An Amarāvati rail pillar⁵⁷ shows vividly the art of war and military organization of these times. Cities were well defended with high walls, ramparts and gates. Walls and gateways were often built of brick and mortar and the gateways were surmounted by *torāṇas* as at Sāñci. In battle the foot soldiers armed with round shields, and short swords, with a band round their abdomen intended to protect them from the enemy's spears, led the army. The infantry was flanked by the cavalry and elephants and the rear was brought up by bowmen. Soldiers used sometimes long spears. The battle-axe is little different from that used in mediæval and modern times. Mallets also were used. While the cavalymen and elephant drivers have turbans, the foot-soldiers have no turban. Does this indicate a higher status enjoyed by the cavalymen and elephantmen?

II. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Foreign Trade: Seaports; Eastern Ports

The eastern and western ports in the Śātavāhana empire were throbbing with trade, though the former were not either as many or as important as the latter. To take the eastern Deccan first, Ptolemy notes that Kantakossyla (Kaṇṭakasela of epigraphic records),⁵⁸ Koddūra (modern Gūḍūr in the Bandar taluq of the Kṛṣṇā district), and Allosygne were ports in the Maisōlia region which, according to the author of the *Periplus*, 'stretched a great way along

56. Lüders, *List*, No. 1339.

Lüders looks upon it as the name of a committee.

57. ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. XI, fig. 1.

58. Lüders, *List*, No. 1303, and EI, Vol. XX, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions, P.

the coast before the inland country'.⁵⁹ North of Allosygne was Apheterion, the starting-point of ships bound for Golden Chryse, i.e., Farther India, the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago. A stūpa pillar fragment bearing an inscription of the time of Siri-Yāña Sātakaṇi was found at Chinna Ganjam (Repalle taluq, Guntur district) near the sea-shore. A fragment of a stūpa pillar was also found at Kollitippa a few miles to the north of Chinna Ganjam. In the vicinity of Chinna Ganjam, Rea found the remains of three stūpas. As Jouveau-Dubreuil has pointed out, an inscription dated Śaka 1166 mentions Mōṭupalle as a port,⁶⁰ and Mōṭupalle is only three miles to the north-east of Chinna Ganjam. It is therefore highly probable that Mōṭupalle or its vicinity contained a port or ports⁶¹ through which a part of the trade of the Maisōlia region flowed. And the Maisōlia region was also located between two great navigable rivers. Lower down the Maisōlia region also, there would seem to have been ports though their names have not been preserved. Coins bearing the device of ship with masts and the legends, 'sāmi Pu (Jumā) visa' and coins with *śiṃha* device bearings the legends, 'sāmisa s(i)r(i)' have been picked up on the Coromandel Coast between Madras and Cuddalore.⁶² Rapson remarks: "The maritime traffic to which the type 'a Ship,' whether on Andhra, Pallava or Kurumbar coins, bears witness, is also attested by the large numbers of Roman coins which are found on the Coromandel Coast". Regarding the migration of the Hindu colonists to the Far East in the first century of the Christian era and later, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri remarks "...it seems... probable that the movement towards the East was the work of the entire coastal tract on the eastern coast of the modern Presidency of Madras, and that the Āndhra Country in general, and the Kingdom of Vēṅgi with it, had a good share in this movement."⁶³ Krom re-

59. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, ed. Schöff, Sec. 62.

60. 800 of AER 1909. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, Part 2, pp. 389 ff.

61. The inscription mentions the remission of taxes on articles of export and import at the harbour of Mōṭupalle alias Bisyuyyakondaputtana. Nos. 601 and 602 mention a concession given to merchants at sea.

62. Regarding the coin G. P. 3, Pl. CIC, Andhra and Western Kāntarapas etc., Rapson reads '— (—) Pu (—)'. Says he (p. 24): "The restoration *ju* seems possible, but by no means certain." The two obliterated letters before *pu* are *sa* and *ma*. After *ju* there are traces of *ma*. We have then 'sāma-Pu(ju(ma).....'. Regarding G. P. 2, Pl. V. Rapson reads *sura*[—] (X) *Samisa*. The more plausible way of reading the legends is *Samisa Siri*(—).

63. *Telugu Academy Silver Jubilee Volume* (English Sec.) p. 11.

marks: "We understand from Vogel's study, that the history of the Pallava princes first attains prominence at a time which must be considerably later than the first setting out of the Hindus towards the east; direct connection between the data here and those from the other side is not thus to be expected." Again: "What we know of the history the Pallavas concerns the later fortunes of a land which must have served as the starting-point for the trade voyages of the Hindus towards the East; they do not relate to that period when such expeditions had their beginning. We are thus at a time much earlier than Śivaskandavarman, and it is wholly uncertain if the dynasty or the kingdom of the Pallavas in general can be taken to a time earlier than the fourth century; and none can guarantee that the Pallava script was begun by the Pallavas or during their rule and had not received earlier the characteristic traits which distinguish it from other scripts. . . . We must leave open the possibility that the 'Pallava' script was brought to foreign lands not from the Pallava kingdom itself but from a kingdom which preceded it in the same locality."⁶⁴

Western Ports

According to the author of the *Periplus Barygaza*, the Bharukacha of a Junnar inscription⁶⁵ and modern Broach, and at his time a Saka port, was the northern-most port in the *Dachinshades*.⁶⁶ Its imports and exports so graphically described by him are: Italian, Laodcean and Arabian wine, copper, tin, lead, coral, topaz, fine and rough cloth, storax, sweet clover, flint, glass, realgar, antimony; gold and silver coin, "on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country," and small quantities of ointments.⁶⁷ For the use of the Saka Satraps were brought very costly vessels of silver, fine wines, beautiful maidens of the harem, thin clothing of the finest weaves, and the choicest ointments. The exports were spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, agate, cornelian, lycium, silk cloth, mallow cloth, long pepper; and "such other things as are brought from the various market-towns." He adds: "Those bound for this market-town from Egypt make the voyage favourably about the month of July, that is Epiphi." The inland commer-

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

65. No. 19, ASWI, Vol. IV. It records the foundation of a two-celled cave by the brothers Budhanitta and Buddharakhita (Buddhista) of the Laṅkuḍiyas, and sons of Asasama (Asvaśarma), the Bharukachas.

66. *Op. cit.*, sec. 51.

67. *Op. cit.*, sec. 49.

cial entrepôts from which streams of trade flowed to Barygaza are Ozene, Paethan and Tagara. To quote the author of the *Periplus*: "There are brought down to Barygaza from these places by waggons and through great tracts without roads, from Paethana carnelian in great quantity and, from Tagara much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth, and other merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea-coast."⁶⁸ Tagara has been identified by Dr. Fleet with modern Tër or Thair.⁶⁹ The question arises, why

68. *Op. cit.*, sec. 51.

69. *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 537 ff.

Bhagwanlal Indraji identified Tagara with modern Junnar, IA, Vol. XIII, p. 366. Fleet has identified it with Tër on the following grounds: Tër or Thair represents a variation of Tagara which is mentioned under that name in two *Śilāhāra* records (EI., Vol. III, pp. 267 and 273, ll. 43-44, and CII, pp. 102-103, ll. 26-27); the author of the *Periplus* says that Tagara is nine days' journey from Paithān. As Paithān is twenty days' journey from Broach, and Tër is half as distant from Paithān as Paithān is from Broach, there can be no objection to the identification; modern Tër is as big a town as Paithān.

Fleet continues (p. 548): "A study of the maps has shown me the former existence of an early trading route, of which well-marked traces still remain, from the east coast through Golconda or Haidarābād, Tër and Paithān, to Broach..... There were two starting-points. One was Masulipatam, on the coast, in the northern part of the Kistna district; and the road from this place took, not only the local traffic from the coast districts, on the north of the Kriṣṇā but also the sea-borne traffic from the far east. The other starting point was probably Vinukonda, inland, in the southern part of the same district, which would serve admirably as a collecting centre for the local products of the sea-side country on the south of Kriṣṇā. The roads from these two places joined each other at a point about twenty-six miles towards the east-by-south from Haidarābād, or perhaps at a point about twenty-three miles further in the same direction. And from that point the single road ran in the most natural manner, through easy country via Haidarābād, Kalyāni, Tër, Paithān and Daulatābād, to 'Chandore' and Mārkipāda in the west of the Nāsik district. And only there, in the Western Ghats commenced the real difficulties of the journey....."

According to the author of the *Periplus* most of the seaport towns, especially Barygaza, were connected with inland market-towns like Paethana, and Tagara by great tracts without roads; and waggons drawn by bullocks could do only twenty miles a day. This might have been the case. But the difficult nature of the country described has to be taken into account. Nāsik official records speak of roads. We have the benefactions of the natives of Nāsik at Barhut of Vaijayanti at Kārlā, of Bharukseha and Kalyān at Junnar, of Sopāra at Nānaghāt and Kārlā. Usavādā's constant and wide pilgrimages in the north-western parts are well-known. It is therefore

should goods from Tagara and Paethan be sent to a distant port like Barygaza, in preference to the ports of Kalyān and Sopāra which were less distant. Was it because as the author of the *Periplus* himself says the Sakas had closed the port (Sātavāhana port) of Kalyān? According to the author of the *Periplus* again from Ozene were brought to Barygaza all things needed for foreign trade,—agate, cornelian, Indian muslins, mallow cloth, and much ordinary cloth.

Below Barygaza stood the Sātavāhana port of Sopāra, the Soupara of Ptolemy, the Sūpara of the *Periplus*, the Sopāraka or Sopāraka of epigraphic records and modern Sopāra, a few miles to the north of Bombay. Of the two Kanḥēri records which mention the place, one mentions a jeweller and the other a merchant from Sopāra. The Sāgarapaloganas (?) of a Kanḥēri inscription⁷⁰ are probably the sea-faring traders at Kalyān or Sopāra.

Sopāra would seem to have been a port of great antiquity. It is mentioned as Supārapattana in the *Mahāvamsa*.⁷¹ The early Buddhist story of Pūrṇamaitra speaks of Sopāraka as a great seaport and the residence of a king Pūrṇa, a very prosperous merchant of the city, who had made several successful voyages in the great ocean. The Buddha is said to have visited the town and preached his law to two Nāga kings there. Pūrṇamaitra Yaṇiputra built a viḥāra to the Buddha.⁷² There are at Sopāra even to-day the remains of Buddhist Stūpa.⁷³ Jaina literature and the *Rāmāyaṇa* also mention Sopāra.⁷⁴

The greatest port in Sātavāhana western Deccan was Kalyān, on the eastern shore of the Bombay harbour, the Kālīana of inscriptions and the Calliene of the *Periplus*.⁷⁵ Of the two Junnar inscriptions mentioning Kalyān, one records gifts by a trader and the other gifts by a goldsmith, from Kalyān. Of the seven inscriptions at

probable that the less mountainous country was covered with roads whilst in the mountainous regions only great tracts without roads were found possible.

70. ASWI, Vol. V, No. 23.

71. VI, 1, 46. The *Mahāvamsa* is not older than the fifth century A.D. But it embodies earlier tradition.

72. IA, Vol. XI, pp. 293-94.

73. *Antiquities of Sopāra*, by Bhagwanlal Indraji, pp. 4 ff.

74. *Ibid.*

75. The various forms in inscriptions are Kālīāna, Junnar Nos. 11 and 13, ASWI, Vol. IV; Kālyāna, Kanḥēri No. 15; Kālāna, Kanḥēri No. 5; Kālāna, Kanḥēri No. 18; Kālyāna, Kanḥēri No. 25; ASWI, Vol. V. These are Prākṛtic variations of Kalyāna meaning 'blest'.

Kaṇhēri mentioning the port, four record gifts by merchants or their sons, and two record gifts by artisans (goldsmith and blacksmith). It is clear that Kalyāṇ was a prosperous trading and industrial centre. This is also known from the fact that the Śakas captured it with a view to destroy the resources of their enemies, the Śātavāhanas. Of the three dated inscriptions at Kaṇhēri two are dated in regnal years of Mādhariṇi Sakasena and one in the regnal years of Siri-Yāṇa Śātakaṇi (after 160 A.D.). Could we infer that as the port was closed by the Sakas in the closing years of the first century A.D. it was not functioning as a port when Ptolemy wrote, and that it regained its old position in the reigns of Mādhariṇi Sakasena and Siri-Yāṇa? As late as the sixth century A.D. Cosmas Indicopleustes found it one of the five chief marts of western India and the capital of the powerful Cālukya kings with a trade in brass, blackwood logs, and articles of clothing.

The other ports mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy and identified with places in the Śātavāhana western Deccan are: Mandagora (Mandaragiri) identified with Bāṅkot at the mouth of the Sāvitrī river, and now a fishing village of no importance; Palaepatmae (Ptolemy's Balipatna) probably modern Dābhol; Melizagara (Malayagiri) placed by McCrindle and Müller at the modern Jaigarh, formerly a port of importance but now little more than a fishing village, and by Schoff at the modern Rājpur near which the Kudā caves are situated; Simylla (the Symulla of Ptolemy, the Chimulo of Yuan Chwang and the Cemula of two Kaṇhēri inscriptions),⁷⁶ certainly modern Chāul about twenty-five miles south of the Bombay harbour; Hippokura,⁷⁷ which Campbell would identify with Ghoregaon in Kolāba; and Byzantion identified with Vijayadurga the south entrance of the Vāghotan river.⁷⁸

Market-towns in the interior: Western Deccan

The market-towns in the interior besides Paithān and Tagara were Junnar,⁷⁹ Karahākaṭa,⁸⁰ Nāsik,⁸¹ Govardhana,⁸² and Vejayantī.⁸³

76. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 996 and 1033.

77. Hippokura is not mentioned in the *Periplus*. It is however different from the capital of Bateokuros mentioned by Ptolemy. The latter is an inland town.

78. *IA*, Vol. XIII, p. 327.

79, 80, 81, 82 & 83. The inscriptions at Junnar refer to a town near the caves, and Junnar is situated in a pass in the Western Ghāṭs, which is on

Eastern Deccan

The market towns in the eastern Deccan would seem to have been not as many or as important as those in the western Deccan. Even as early as the third or the second century B.C., Dhaññakāṭaka was a market-town. In some Amarāvātī inscriptions Kevurūra, Vijayapura and Nārasala (sela?) are mentioned as the residence of merchants. Lüders, No. 1261 mentions a *seṭhipamukha* and a member of a guild of merchants from Cadaka.⁸⁴

Merchants

Merchants are generally all called *vaṇīja* or *negama*.⁸⁵ A member of a guild of merchants is known as *nigama*; the alderman of the guild is called *seṭhin* (Sans. *śreṣṭhin*). *Sathavāha* (Sans. *Sārthavāha*) means 'caravan trader'. The wife of a *vaṇīja* is called *vaṇīyini*, and the wife of a *sathavāha*, a *sātekaudhīni*.⁸⁶

the line of communication through the Nāneghāt pass to the ports in the west. Moreover in the Junnar caves a number of *seṭhis* or guilds are mentioned. The traveller's rest house at Nāneghāt shows undoubtedly that much trade flowed through it. A Sopāraka executed a cistern at Nāneghāt hill (Lüders, *List*, No. 1119) called the Satagara mountain in another inscription. ((JBBRAS, Vol. XV, pp. 313 ff.). (80) Modern Karāḍh 70 miles from Mahād. It is mentioned as a *nigama* in a Barhut inscription (Cunningham, *Stūpa of Barhut*, p. 131, No. 18); it is mentioned also in a Kuṣā inscription as the residence of an ironmonger (ASWL, Vol. IV, p. 87, No. 18). (81) A Bādsā inscription speaks of a *seṭhi* from Nāsik (ASWL, Vol. IV, p. 89 No. 1). (82) An inscription of Uṣavadāta mentions a number of guilds, and the guild-hall (*nigamasabha*) at Govadhana (Nāsik No. 12, EI, Vol. VIII). (83) *Vide supra*.

84. The inscription (No. 1261) runs as follows: "Cadakica seṭhipamukha (bha)-daniga(ma)sa sūci dāna." Lüders translates it as follows: "the gift of a rail bar by the pious town Chadakica." On the analogy of Junnar No. 4 (ASWL, Vol. IV) where Virasenaka is a personal name and *dhanamanigama* has therefore to be interpreted as 'the member of Buddhist guild of merchants' as pointed out by Senart, *bhadenigama* has to be interpreted as 'members of a Buddhist guild merchant.' Chadakica would then mean 'native of Chadaka' and *seṭhipamukha* prominent among the *seṭhis*. Instances of the omission of the personal name in votive inscriptions are not wanting.

85. In Lüders, *List*, No. 987, both *vaṇījaka* and *negama* are used in such a way as to show that they had identical meaning.

86. *Ibid.*, No. 30.

In our epigraphs merchants bear the title of *gahapati*, *gahata* (Sans. *grhastā*) being a title applied to Brahmans who had passed the pupil or the *Brahmacarya* stage.⁸⁷ According to Senart the use of *gahapati* (Sans. *grhapati*) in Nāsik No. 6 "favours the opinion I have formerly stated, and which I must maintain against the doubts that have been raised by a learned opponent (Fick, *Soziale Gliederung zu Buddha's Zeit*, p. 164), viz. that *grhapati* is, in the Buddhist language, specially restricted to people of various castes, who are included in the large class of *Vaiśyas*." In the *Saptaśatakaṃ* we have references to the philandering of the *gahapati* with a girl of the *hālaka* class;⁸⁸ a *Sailārwaḍi* inscription mentions a *hālaka* (*kuḍubika*) *Uḡabaka* whose son is called *gahapati*.⁸⁹ In Kanheri No. 15 and Nāsik No. 6, the wives of *negamas* are called *kuṭumbinīs*. Therefore *kuṭumbika* and *gahapati* are identical titles applied to persons of the cultivator class also. In Nāsik Nos. 11 and 13, the wife of *Rṣabhadatta* styles herself *kuṭumbinī*.⁹⁰ Does this show that the word also meant wife, or does it show that the *Kṣatriyas* also styled themselves as *kuṭubā* and *kuṭubinī*?⁹¹ Later on *kuṭumbin* came to mean 'cultivator.' A point against Senart's conclusion is that in the *Amaraṭi* inscriptions many a *gahapati* and merchant is mentioned, yet we have only one instance of the father of a *vaṣiṣa* bearing the title of *gahapati*, but even here the latter is not styled a *vaṣiṣa*. In the western cave inscriptions too, not all the merchants bear the title of *gahapati*.

Coins and Trade

If the state of trade, internal and external, can be judged by the coinage i.e., by the variety and number of coins used or issued, it would appear that western Deccan throbbed most with trade and industry during the period of the early *Sātavāhanas* (third and second centuries B.C.), and during the first period of *Kṣatrapa* occupation (first century). The *Nāneghāṭ* inscription of queen *Nāyanikā* describes the *dakṣiṇas* given on the occasion of the various sacrifices performed by the queen and her husband *Siri-Sātakaṇi I*. They are 1700 cows and 10 elephants, 11000 cows, 1000 horses, 17

87. *Ibid.*, 1091.

88. II, 7, vi, 100.

89. CII, No. 1, p. 38.

90. ASWI, Vol. V, Kanheri Inscriptions, EI, Vol. VIII, Nāsik Cave Inscriptions.

91. Does it indicate that she was a laic?

silver pots and 14000 *kārṣāpaṇas*, one horse chariot, 30002 cows, silver ornaments and dresses, 1100 cows on three occasions, 1000 cows on four occasions, 40001 *kārṣāpaṇas* on three occasions, 12 golden.....?, and 14000(?) *kārṣāpaṇas* etc.⁹² As for the first period of Kṣatrapa occupation, do we not possess a hoard of Nahapāna's silver coins? Does not Uṣavadāta endow large sums of money, viz., 70,000 *kārṣāpaṇas* and 3000 *kārṣāpaṇas*? The vast trade of the period is also indicated by the other charities of Uṣavadāta.⁹³ Some may be inclined to look upon them as the results of oppressive taxation or successful wars.

We have not a single Sātavāhana coin of the period from the first century B.C. to the reign of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani (end of the first century A.D.). Even the latter only restruck the coins of Nahapāna unless it be that some copper coins attributed by Rapson doubtfully to him, were struck by him. Even among the coins of the later Sātavāhanas from western India, we have more coins from the Chanda district (Central Provinces), than from Mahārāṣṭra, and Aparānta.

Eastern Deccan where lead coinage predominates over copper and where not even a single silver coin has been picked up,⁹⁴ would seem to have entered upon an epoch of great commercial and industrial activity during the reign of Puṣumāvi II, an activity which reached its culminating point in the reign of Siri-Yaṇa. Puṣumāvi issued $\frac{1}{16}$; $\frac{1}{8}$; $\frac{3}{8}$; $\frac{1}{2}$; $\frac{5}{8}$; $\frac{3}{4}$; $\frac{7}{8}$; 1, *kārṣāpaṇas*.⁹⁵ The reign of Siri-Yaṇa not only saw the issue of a large number of coins which an empire from sea to sea demanded, but a correspondingly larger issue in the *Andhradeśa* than in the western Deccan. In addition to coins of the denominations already mentioned $1\frac{1}{8}$, and

92. Rapson has pointed out that the *kārṣāpaṇas* of this inscription, as well as those of Kaphēri No. 15 (ASWL, Vol. V) and Nāsik inscriptions of Uṣavadāta, are silver *kārṣāpaṇas*. CIC, *Andhras and Western Kṣatrapas*, etc., cxxxiii, n. 1. The ratio was 35 *kārṣāpaṇas* to one *Suvarṇa*.

93. Nāsik Nos. 10, 12 and 14a, EI, Vol. VIII.

94. The Allūra inscription which is a composite record of gifts, mentions an investment of 1000 *kārṣāpaṇas* as permanent endowment. As this is mentioned along with a gift of 53, 32, and 24 *niśartanas* of land and 500 cows, 64 bullock carts, some Greek lamps and a tank, it is all but certain that only silver *kārṣāpaṇas* are meant. It must be noted that this is the only inscription where a *kārṣāpaṇa* is called *purāṇa* or old coin.

95. $1\frac{1}{16}$ is more probable than $1\frac{1}{12}$, as the other denominations follow the division into 16, and as an inscription at Nāgārjunikonda mentions *diśāri-māṇakas*. *Māṇaka* is the weight five ratas and 16 *māṇakas*=1 *kārṣa*.

1¾, *kārṣāpaṇas* were issued, an indication of increased trade.⁹⁵ Mādhariṣṭa Sakasena's and Cāḍa Sātī's reigns did not witness such varied and large issues. The large lead and potin coins from Kolhāpur, also attest a busy trade in the south-western part of the empire which was left under feudatories.

Industrial and Commercial Organization

The inscriptions introduce us to various classes of workers—*dhamnīkas* (corn-dealers), *mālākāras* (florists), *kolīkas* (weavers), *tilapiṣakas* (oilpressers), *odayantrīkas* (fabricators of hydraulic engines), *kāśākāras* (braziers), *tesakāras* (polishers), *kamāras* (iron-workers), *loharāṇīyas* (iron-mongers), *kulārīkas* (potters?),⁹⁷ *avesaṇīs* (artisans), and *lekhakas* (writers) some of whom were in the service of kings and *Mahābhōjas*, *Caṇmakāras* (leather-workers), *gadhīkas* (perfumers), *suvanākāras* (goldsmiths), *maṇīkāras* (jewellers), *mūṭhīkas* (stonepolishers), *selavadhākāras* (stonemasons), and *vaḍhakīs* (carpenters). Workers connected with buildings are *nāyakamīśas*, *kadhīcakas*,⁹⁸ and *maḥākūṭakas*. Among these workers only *gadhīkas*, *kammakāras*, *avesaṇīs* and *lekhakas*, are mentioned in epigraphs from the eastern Deccan.

Most of these craftsmen were as well-to-do as the craftsmen of the Middle Ages. Their artistic taste was something unsurpassed.⁹⁹ It is to their munificence that we owe some of the Buddhist monuments of our period.¹⁰⁰

95. It is here necessary to bear in mind the remark of Rapson that: ".... it is important to insist on the fact that any supposed uniformity in the weight-standards of the ancient coins of India appears on examination to be quite illusory. It is impossible to read the various passages quoted from Sanskrit authors in the *Vācaspatya Dictionary*, s.v. 'karṣa,' without realising that the diversity of weights may have been very considerable. This diversity seems certainly also to be proved by the actual specimens, many of which cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be satisfactorily assigned to any particular denomination." (op. cit., clxxxii).

97. "For *kulārīka* at least I see nothing better than Bühler's conjecture, taking it to be, *kudāra* = 'a potter'." Senart, *Et.*, Vol. VIII, p. 89.

98. According to Bühler, *kadhīcaka* may be the Gujarati *kadhīyo*=brick-layer.

99. A *gadhīka* has lavished all his art on an Amarāvati pillar (TSW, 1868 Pl. LXXXIX).

100. Mugūdāsa, a fisherman (*dāsa*), excavates a cave at Nāsik (Nāsik Nos. 8 and 9, *Et.*, Vol. VIII). As the donation of one cave is mentioned in two epigraphs Senart thinks that the word *lena* in No. 9, points no more to the verandah but "to the cell which the same donor Mugūdāsa, must have

Some and perhaps most of the crafts and trades mentioned above were organized into guilds. We hear of a *Dhanñikaseṇi*, a *Kāśikāraseṇi*, and a *Tesakāraseṇi* in Junnar inscriptions; *Kolikanikāyaseṇi* at Govardhana; of a *Kularikaseṇi*, a *Tilapiṣakaseṇi*, and an *Odayantrikaseṇi* we hear in an inscription from Nāsik. Each guild had an alderman called *seṭhin* (*śreṣṭhin*).¹⁰¹ Guilds had their office in the town-hall or *niḡamasabhā*. Uṣavadāta's investment in guilds were read (*srāvita*), and registered in the *niḡamasabhā*.¹⁰² Permanent endowments,¹⁰³ especially in favour of religious institutions were sometimes invested in fields, and sometimes in these guilds. Since Uṣavadāta invests some of his religious charities in guilds, does it mean that the guilds were looked upon as very stable organizations, as stable, if not more so than the government?

In India the rate of interest is stated monthly.¹⁰⁴ Some of our western cave inscriptions show conformity to this method. A Junnar inscription mentions investment of money in two guilds at the rate of *paṇḍuka māsa* in one guild and at the rate of *paṇ māsa* in the other. Uṣavadāta invested two thousand *kārṣāpaṇas* in one weaver's guild at Govardhana, at the rate of *pratika* per cent (12% per annum), and 1000 *kārṣāpaṇas* in another weaver's guild at the same place at $\frac{3}{4}$ *pratika* per cent (9%). But the normal rate of interest would seem to have been 12 per cent per annum.¹⁰⁵ Guilds were like the goldsmiths of the Middle ages in Europe bankers receiving deposits and lending out money.

Land

In the Sātavāhana empire, as in India at all times, agriculture was the main industry. Western and eastern inscriptions record

added to his cave. This interpretation seems the more tempting as the second donation has for its object, to supply with clothes the *papaṇita*, i.e., the monk residing in the cell." But in our epigraphs there is not a single instance of the confusion between *leṇa* and *ovaraṇa*; and the money for clothes is to be applied to the monk or monks living in the cave. It is possible that while making another donation for monks, the previous donation was recapitulated.

101. Lüders translates *seṭhin* as 'banker'.

102. A Bhattiprōlu inscription mentions a *niḡama* (guild), and a number of persons, the members of the guilds. (EI, Vol. II, No. VIII d.)

103. *Akṣayanīvi*. We do not hear of permanent endowments in the Amarāvati, Jagayyapēta and Nāgarjunikōṇḍa inscriptions. The Allūra inscription however mentions it.

104. *Manu*, VIII, v. 141.

105. Nāsik, No. 17, EI, Vol. VIII, Kanheri No. 15, ASWI, Vol. V.

gifts of villages and fields (for cultivation and plantation of trees) to monastic institutions. The king had what in the Middle Ages was called the royal domain.¹⁰⁵ The king did not expropriate the lands of the subjects but bought them, even when whole villages were granted to monastic institutions.¹⁰⁷

Sometimes the field was possessed by more than one person; the share of each person in the field was specified in fractions of a *paṇa*. A Kaphēri inscription mentions the owner of an *ādhapaṇa-kheta*.¹⁰⁸

Land was subject to more than one tax.¹⁰⁹ Salt was a royal monopoly.¹¹⁰

III. RELIGION

Buddhism in Eastern Deccan

The stūpas at Allūra, Gummadidurru, Ghaṇṭasālā, Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Gudivāḍa, and Gōli, and the Amarāvati sculptures and epigraphs give us in their own way the history of Buddhism in *Āndhradeśa* from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D. Much credence may not be placed in the story that the Buddha miraculously visited the *Āndhradeśa*.¹¹¹ As *Āndhradeśa* is not mentioned among the countries to which monks were sent by Tissa after the Third Council and as the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions show that even before 200 B.C. *Āndhradeśa* had become a stronghold of Buddhism, it is very probable that it embraced Buddhism long before the time of the Third Council and the reign of Asoka. It is also probable that Buddhism spread more quickly among the non-Aryan *Āndhra* tribes than in Aryan societies. A feature of Bhaṭṭiprōlu Buddhism is the worship of the relics of the Buddha (*śarīra*) placed in crystal caskets which were in turn placed in stone caskets. The faithful in each village organised themselves into groups e.g. *Śhigogohī*, *Aṇa-Sakasathigohī* etc.¹¹²

The objects of worship at Amarāvati are the stūpas, small and big, the sacred tree with the empty throne, the footprints (*pāduka*) of the great teacher on a stool in front of the throne,¹¹³ the *triśūla*

105. Nāsik, No. 5, Vol. VIII: *ettha sēgarasīme rājakaṣa kheta*.

107. Nāsik, No. 12.

108. ASWI, Vol. V, p. 79, No. 15.

109. EI, Vol. VII, Kārlā No. 14.

110. EI, Vol. VIII, Nāsik Nos. 3, 4, and 5.

111. Watters, *On Yuan-Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 209.

112. *Bodhigohī*, Lüders, *List*, No. 234 and 351.

113. The footmarks of the Buddha have been objects of worship among

emblem,¹¹⁴ the *Dharmacakra* on a pillar with an empty throne before it, relics of the Buddha and great teachers, *Sothikapāṭas* (sans. *Svastikapāṭas*)¹¹⁵ the Buddha or Nāga Rājā with the snake hoods above his head, life size statues of the Buddha, and the Buddha preaching. These objects of worship are often found in the open and sometimes in the midst of a hall with *caitya* arches and rail pattern bands.¹¹⁶ To these objects of worship offerings of cloth, flowers and liquids, brought in vessels of attractive shapes were made by the rich and the poor, young and old, men and women. Pilgrimages to Buddhist centres would seem to have been the order of the day. Men and women are represented in sculptures as being in ecstatic devotion. The common way of worshipping is kneeling before the object with joined hands. Sometimes it is falling flat on the ground.

The Nāga cult in Buddhism is also noteworthy. Serpents are represented as entwining stūpas. Nāgas and Nāga Rājās and their wives are represented as worshipping the stūpa and hearing the sermons of the master. Both at Amarāvati and Nāgarjunikoṇḍa, the Buddha is represented as seated on Nāgās with their hoods just above his head. As there is no halo behind these figures, and as Nāgas are sometimes represented on stūpa slabs, in the place of the Buddha preaching, as the figures under mention have turbans and

his followers from very early times. "And special representations of it supposed to have been left by the Buddha himself as that on Adam's Peak in Ceylon were objects of pilgrimage. And the legends that enumerate the thirty-two marks of personal beauty or superiority ascribed to the Buddha, specially mention two beautiful brilliant wheels (*cakras*) with a thousand rays on the soles of his feet." But though the essential feature in the representation of this footmark called *cakra-nṛpaṇa* or *Sākya-cakra* is the *cakra* on the middle of the sole, there were almost always others also and in the eastern peninsula they have been multiplied largely. The *Septasatikanā* speaks of the worship of the feet of the Buddha (g. 308).

114. Regarding the *triśūla* emblem and the pillar supporting it Burgess says (ASSI, Vol. I, p. 30): "The sides of the pillar supporting the *triśūla* are always represented as in flames, and, as Mr. Fergusson has remarked, this seems to be the counterpart of the Agni-līṅga of Śiva." An examination of the sculptures shows clearly that what is taken to represent flames, is only a representation of twisted cloth, much like that worn by men round their waist and hanging from the top of the pillar. In one of the sculptures (TSW, 1855 Pl. LVIII, No. 2) offerings of cloth to the tree is represented.

115. In the *Bhattiprolu Stūpa* 24 silver coins arranged in the *Svastika* shape were found along with other relics. (Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Pl. IV, p. 12).

116. ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. XXI, 2.

no upper cloth, it is probable that they are Nāga Rājas. One is tempted to identify them with Nāgārjuna, but the snake cult was so widely prevalent in these parts that such an interpretation must remain doubtful until fresh evidence turns up. As we shall see, any supposed connection between Nāgārjuna P'usa and the *Andhradeśa* of the second century A.D., is open to doubt.

Western Deccan

The earliest Buddhist remains from western Deccan come from Pitalkhorā and Kolhāpur. The former has yielded us a number of caves and epigraphs which palaeographically belong to the third century B.C., and which record the gifts of Buddhists from Paithān and other places. (The most prominent among the donors is a royal physician). The Kolhāpur Stūpa has yielded a stone box and relic casket on the square lid of which is cut in pure Maurya characters (earlier than the Pitalkhorā inscription), the inscription:

*Baṃhāsa dānaṃ
Dhamayutena kāritaṃ.*

In one of his former births the Buddha is said to have gone to Suppāra, in Aparānta or north Koṅkan, at the request of Pūrṇa, the son of a slave girl, who had risen to be one of the chief merchants of Suppāra; then a Brahman and some widows got relics over which they built a Stūpa.

Bhagwanlal Indraji has excavated the remains of a Stūpa at Sopāra. According to the *Mahāvastu* and a Nāgārjunikonda inscription, Aparānta was converted by a missionary Dharmarakṣita, a Yavana sent by Tissa after the Third Council. Pitalkhorā and Kolhāpur show that Buddhism had made rapid strides in western Deccan even before the Third Council. Next in age to Pitalkhorā come Nāsik, Bhājā, and Bēdsā. The Kārlā Cāitya cave belongs to the first century B.C. It is however the first and second centuries A.D. that constitute the glorious epoch of Buddhism in the western Deccan. Kings patronised various sects. Rival powers vied with each other in scooping viḥāras or caves at Nāsik, and in making grants of villages, lands, and money to monks spending the *uassa* in such caves. *Mahābhōjas*, *Mahārāṭhis*, ministers, and minor officials, merchants, craftsmen and ladies of all rank and denominations, vied with one another in making donations to the order. Monks and nuns vied with laymen in donating caves, cisterns, *cāityas*, stūpa-marbles and permanent endowments.¹¹⁷ They readily joined with

117. Kanḥāri Nos. 17 and 21, ASWI, Vol. V.

laymen in such enterprises. No less than six monks and nuns joined hands with Yavanas and laymen from Vejayantī, Nāsik, etc., in constructing the Kārlā *Cetiya*ghara. Were these expenses met from the savings effected out of the cloth money and the *kuṣaṇamūla* given to them? Did enterprising monks who were enjoined to beg for alms only, go about collecting money for such pious works? Whatever might have been the case, the possession of money by monks and nuns was evidence of relaxation of the rigid rules of the Order. The Buddhist monuments at Kuḍā, Mahād, Kol, Bhājā, Bēḍsā, Kārlā, Junnar, Nāsik, and Kanḥēri are such donations. A Kanḥēri inscription mentions the construction of a *Cetiya*ghara, *upathāṇasālā* (hall of reception), three cells in the *Abālikāvihāra* at Kalyān, a *Cetiya*ghara and thirteen cells at some *viḥāra* at Patithāna, a *kuṭi* (temple), and a *koṭṭhi* (hall) at *Rājatalāka* in *Paithāṇapatha*, and a *sagharāma* at the *viḥāra* at *Sadasevājū* (?)¹¹⁸

Sects: Buddhist Sects in western Deccan

Our epigraphs introduce us to a number of sects. The Bhadāyaniyas were the most favoured at Nāsik and at Kanḥēri. Dhammotariyas flourished at Sopāra and in the town near the Junnar caves. The Mahāsāṅghikas had their stronghold at Kārlā and its vicinity. Both Bhadāyaniya and Dhammotariya are subdivisions of the Theravāda school. In two Junnar inscriptions we have *Siddhaganeṣu Aparājiteṣu* and *Aparājiteṣu gaṇe*.¹¹⁹ *Aparājiteṣu* is evidently a mistake of the scribe or the engraver for *Aparājiteṣu*. *Siddhagana* denotes a holy assembly. Another Junnar inscription¹²⁰ mentions a *gaṇācārya*. As in our inscriptions teachers are generally mentioned with reference to sects,¹²¹ *gaṇa* of the inscriptions under reference also refers to a school or sect. The *Aparājita* sect is not mentioned in the books.

It does not however mean that only one sect flourished at a place or in a group of caves. Caitikas flourished at Nāsik, and Uṣavādāta's inscriptions show that monks of different sects kept the *vassa* in the same cave. We know that Mahisāsakas, Bahusutiyas, Aparamahāvinaseliyas and Ceylonese monks and nuns lived in the Nāgarjunikoṇḍa valley. A preacher of the Dhammotariya sect donates

118. Lüders, *List*, No. 988.

119. ASWI, Vol. IV, Nos. 25 and 20.

120. No. 17.

121. ASSI, Vol. I, No. 49, p. 105; ASWI, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 75ff. ASR 1906-07, pp. 96 ff; Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1158 and 1171.

a pillar of the Kārlā Cetiyaḡhara which would seem to have been the property of the Mahāsāṅghikas.

Unlike Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani and Puḡumāvi II, Uṡavādāta patronised all the sects. At Kārlā and Nāsik, the benefits of his donations are assigned to ascetics of every denomination or residence, who could be brought to take their abode in the caves at Kārlā and Nāsik, along with their resident hosts, during the *vassa*.¹²² Another foreigner donates a *navagabha maṇḍapa* at Kārlā to the Saṅgha as the special property of the Mahāsāṅghikas. Senart remarks that this grant seems "to stipulate that gifts attributed to particular sects should be meant for monks of every origin and of every denomination without distinction; compare No. 13, 1.4"¹²³. On the other hand Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani's donation at Kārlā is 'for the support of the sect of the Mahāsāṅghikas of the mendicant friars dwelling here in (these) caves of Valūra....' Balasiri's cave at Nāsik was for the acceptance of the Bhaddāyaniyas. The official grants of land or village recorded in Nāsik Nos. 3, 4, and 5, were in favour of the same sect.

Eastern Deccan

The Amarāvati epigraphs mention some sects that flourished during the Sātavāhana period. The earliest among them would seem to be that of Caityavaṇḍa (Caityavada), or Cetika, or Ceti-kiya, which is mentioned in four epigraphs. This is the only sect mentioned both in eastern and western inscriptions. Since an Amarāvati epigraph speaks of Cetikas at Rājagiri, and as the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* mentions Rājagirika as one of the Andhaka sects, it is probable that this sect was an offshoot of the Cetika *nīkāya*. Whilst the Pubbasela (mentioned in the Allūru inscription), and Avarasela schools, (Andhaka schools), are known to the commentator on the *Kathāvatthu*, the Mahāvinasela (not to speak of its later offshoot Aparamahāvinasela) and Ayira-Uṡayipabbhāha *nīkāyas*¹²⁴

122. *Eṡo mama leṡe vasaṡāmaṡ cātudāsā bhikkhuḡhaṡa mukkhāra bhaviṡati*, Nāsik No. 10. *Saṡḡhaṡ cātudāsā ye imaṡmā leṡe vasaṡāmaṡ bhaviṡati civerika*, No. 12, EI, Vol. VIII.

123. *Māhāsaṡḡhikāyeṡa paṡigaka ṡaḡha cātudāsa dāna*, Kārlā No. 20, EI, Vol. VII, p. 71.

124. Uṡayipabbhāha is perhaps Sans. *Uttara Prabhāsa*. Prabhāsa is the name of a place of pilgrimage in western Deccan. (Nāsik, No. 10, EI, Vol. VIII) Most of the schools that took their rise in the *Andhradeśa*, derive their names from places, presumably places where the sects in question took their origin. 'Ayira' or 'aira' (Sansk. *Ārya*) is at Allūru, Amarāvati, and Nāḡarjunikoṇḍa

are not so known. The latter group was therefore later than the commentary on the *Kathāvartha*. But the epigraphs which mention them cannot, however, be ascribed to a period later than the second half of the second century A.D. The *Mahācaitya* at Amarāvati was dedicated to the *Caitikas*. As another but smaller *Stūpa* in the same place was dedicated to the *Udayapabbhāhis* they were perhaps an offshoot of the *Caitikas*. *Rājagiri* would also seem to have been a stronghold of the *Caitikas*. Each sect had its *Mahānavakāṃsas* and *Navakāṃsas*, monks some of whom were *sthaviras*, *mahāsthaviras* and *bhādantas*.¹²⁵

Monks and Nuns

Monks are called *bhikkhus*, *pavajitas*, *samaṇas*, and *pemḍapātikas*. Nuns are called *samaṇikās*, *pavajitikās*, and *bhikkhunīs*. It is no wonder that the flourishing Buddhist communities in western and eastern Deccan abounded in great teachers. In western Deccan, *mahāsthaviras*, *sthaviras*, *bhāṇakas*, and *tevijjas* (sans. *Traividya* = those who know the *Tripitaka*; also adopted by the Buddhists as an epithet of *arhats*)¹²⁶ trod the land, enlightening the faithful on the law of the master. In eastern Deccan, monks, nuns and laymen flocked to teachers versed in the *Vinaya* and *Dhamma* (*Dharmakathikas*) and had *bhāṇa* under them. Even nuns were teachers (*upajhiyā-*

a title prefixed to the *Saṅgha* in general. While in the western cave inscription 'aya', 'ayya', and 'ayira' (*ārya*) is a title prefixed to the names of Buddhist *arhats*, teachers, monks and nuns.

125. *Navakāṃsa* is a religious building dedicated by some lay member to the *Saṅgha*. The superintendent of such work is *Navakāṃsika*. The *Cullavagga* VI, 5 = *Vinayapiṭakam* supplies us with the following information. "If the buildings were for the *Bhikkhus*, then a *Bhikkhu*, if for the *Bhikkhunīs* then a *Bhikkhunī*, was appointed to superintend the works in order to ensure the buildings being in accordance with the rules of the Order as to size, form, and object of the various apartments." (ed. Oldenberg, Trans. SBE, Vol. XX, pp. 180 ff n.). But a *Nāgārjunikonda* epigraph states that a *Cetiya* was erected for the *theris* of Ceylon, in the *Nāgārjunikonda* valley, and yet the superintendents were not *theris*, but three monks, *theras* *Candā-mukha*, *Dharmamanandi* and *Nāga*. The *Navakāṃsikas* for the *Caitya* Cave at *Kanheri* were the *theras*, *bhādantas*, *Acala*, *Gahala*, *Vijayasita*, *Bo(dhika)*, and *Dharmapāla*. Along with these *Navakāṃsikas* is mentioned as *Uparakhita*, a monk, whose function, however, is not clear. As sometimes *ka* is used for *kha* the *Upareka* of an *Amarāvati* inscription (Vol. XV, No. 23, p. 269) may be identical with *Uparakhita*. The *Kanheri* inscription cited above mentions along with *Navakāṃsikas* a *Samāpitta*—a layman and the son of a merchant.

126. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 162.

yini), and had scores of female pupils (*atevasinī*) under them. Some monks and nuns were persons who had led the life of *grhasthas*. Monks and nuns were recruited from the lowest classes also.¹²⁷

The monks spent the rainy season (kept their *vassa*) in the caves scooped out on prominent rocks or in monasteries built by the faithful.¹²⁸ The remaining part of the year was spent in religious tours. That is why most of the Buddhist monuments were erected in trade centres like Dhammakataka, Kalyān, Paithān and Nāsik, and at Kārlā, and Junnar which are situated in the passes leading from Koṅkan to the Ghāts. The caves at Kanhēri, which is near the sea and the sea-port of Kalyān, and Kudā, Mahād, and Chiplun situated on creeks, show that monks and nuns travelled by sea also.

Monks and nuns lived in caves called *leṇas* (Sans. *layana*) or *viḥāras*. *Viḥāras* cut out of rock, open with a verandah; inside is a hall surrounded on three sides by rows of cells, each with a stone bench for the monks to sleep on. Structural *viḥāras* were also built on the same plan. Attached to the *viḥāra* or as parts of it are *bhojanamaṭapa* or *bhojanacatusālā* (refectory), *upathāpasālā* (hall of reception), *saghārāma*,¹²⁹ *pāṇīyapodhis*, and *sēnapodhis*. The *bhojanamaṭapa* at Junnar¹³⁰ is an open hall 19 feet wide by 14½ feet deep and 8 feet high, with a bench round the three inner walls; the *upathāpasālā* at Kārlā is a hall 21 feet wide by 11 feet deep and seven feet high, and is the upper story of a *viḥāra* 24 feet wide by 22 feet deep and 7½ feet high, with ten cells four in the back and three on each side, but half of them in an unfinished state. The *viḥāra* hall is sometimes called *koṭhi*. *Ṭhānaka* would also seem to be another name for *viḥāra*, as the cave in which the inscription containing the former word is incised bears a close resemblance to the small *viḥāra* at Bhājā. The Buddhist temples attached to *viḥāras* are called *Cetiyaḡharas* or *Selaḡharas*, or *Cetiyaḡkoṭhis*. *Cetiyaḡharas* are of two main types, both *dāgoba* shrines. One is the flat-roofed *viḥāra*—like cave with a *dāgoba* shrine at the back and with cells on the sides or in front of the hall. The other is

127. ASSI, Vol. I, No. 36, p. 91.

128. In Kanhēri No. 18, ASWI, Vol. V the *vassa* is said to have been kept in summer.

129. Lüders translates *saghārāma* No. 988 as 'monastery'; but in the inscription (ASWI, Vol. V, No. 6, p. 77) it is spoken as part of a *viḥāra*. *Ārāma* means 'garden' and *saghārāma* means 'the garden around the monastery'.

130. ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 30.

vault-roofed, has horse-shoe shaped windows over the entrance and has an interior consisting of a nave and side aisles with a small circular *Stūpa* at the inner circular end, the object or centre of cult. To the former class belong those at Mahāḍ, Kuḍā, and Junnar. In a *Cetiya* at Mahāḍ the *dāgoba* is in half relief. At Kuḍā the abacus of the capital of the *Cetiya* just touches the roof and the cell has a stone bench or bed. At Junnar the *Cetiya* consists of a verandah with a flat roof forming the porch to the cave. Behind the arched nave of a *Cetiya* stands a *dāgoba* of the same style as at Bēdsā. The next step was to pierce the rock over the verandah with an arched window. The *dāgoba* shrines at Bhājā, Bēdsā, Kārlā, Nāsik, Koḍāne, and Kanheri, some of them belonging to a period considerably anterior to the Christian era, are of the latter type. One on the Mānmōḍi hill (Junnar) is of this type. But those at Nāsik, Koḍāne, Bhājā, and Bēdsā, have no screen in front, though at Bēdsā the returns of the rock at each side of the façade of the *Cetiya* cave favour the idea that something in the front was intended. Burgess remarks: "Judging from the examples at Bēdsā, Kārlā, and Kanheri, it seems as if the great windows in the original wooden structures from which these *Cetiya* caves were copied were always covered by a screen in front, which partially hid them while it protected them from the weather."¹³¹

Brahmanical Religion

Brahmanism was also in a flourishing condition. Most of the Sātavāhana kings were followers of the Brahmanical religion. The third king of the line performed a number of Vedic sacrifices and named one of his sons Vedisiri.¹³² In the *Saptaśatakam* an anthology of erotic verses attributed to Hāla, adoration is paid to Śiva.¹³³ Later Sātavāhanas were also followers of the Brahmanical religion. Gotamīputa Śiri-Sātakani was not the only supporter of the Brahmanas. He was not only learned in the traditional lore, but emulated epic heroes like Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna, Bhīmasena, and Purāṇic figures like Nābhāga, Nahusa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, and Ambarisa. Since Gotamī speaks of Kailāsa, were she and her son devotees of Śiva? Another king bears the name Yaśa.

131. ASWL Vol. IV, p. 39.

132. The minister to whom the daughter of prince Haksiri was given would seem to have been a Buddhist, as he bears the name Arāhalaya, and as his daughter excavates the only *Cetiya* at Nāsik, (Nāsik, No. 19, EI, Vol. VIII).

133. First and last verses.

Uṣavadāta's inscription¹³⁴ speaks of Carakas, a special category of ascetics at Ramatīrtha in Sopāra, Suvarṇamukha, Govardhana and Pīṇḍitakāvaḍa. Uṣavadāta's inscriptions however, show that Brahmanism was more flourishing outside Sātavāhana dominions, viz., in Gujerat, Kathiawad, Rajaputana, and Ujjain; all his Brahmanical austerities are located in them.¹³⁵

The Nānēghāṭ record begins with adoration to Dharma, Samkarsana, Vāsudeva, Indra, the Sun and the Moon, the guardians of the four quarters of the world viz., Vāsava, Kubera, Varuṇa and Yama. The *Saptaśatakam* mentions wooden images of Indra which were worshipped.¹³⁶ Worship of Kṛṣṇa is indicated by the names like Govardhana, Kṛṣṇa, and Gopāla. In the *Saptaśatakam* we find the Kṛṣṇa legends fully developed. Here Kṛṣṇa is called Madhumathana¹³⁷ and Dāmōdara. Gōpis and Yaśodā are also mentioned.¹³⁸ We also hear of the jealousy of shepherdesses against Rādhā.¹³⁹

Names like Sivapālita, Sivakhadila, Sivadatta, Kumāra etc., point to a worship of Śiva, and Skanda. The *Saptaśatakam* furnishes us interesting data in this direction. In the opening and closing verses Paśupati and Gaurī are adored. Temples of Gaurī are mentioned in *gāthā* 172. Śiva is also called Paramatādhipa (Prākṛt. Paramahāṁsa) in *gāthā* 440. Kāpālīs or ash covered and skull-bearing women ascetics are also mentioned.¹⁴⁰ Gaṇeśa is mentioned as Gaṇādhipati.¹⁴¹

134. Nāsik, No. 12, EI, Vol. VIII.

135. According to the *Mahābhārata*, a forest near Sopāra was in times of yore, the scene of austerities and sacrifices performed by kings. It also contained the holy shrines of Vasu, of the Maruṭganas, of Aśvinī, Vāivasvat, Aditya, Kubera, Indra, Viṣṇu, etc. (*Vanaparvan*, Chapter CXVIII).

136. *Saccam cca kapphamao*

Surasaka, jena heḷiadhūte |

Haṭṭhehi kamaladālako

Malehi cūko na pallavā ||

Weber, *Das Saptaśatakam des Hāla*, p. 470, g. 864.

137. *Op. cit.*, p. 323, g. 637.

138. *Ajja vi vālo Dāmo-*

aro tti ta jaṇṇe jaṇṇe |

Kaṇhamahapessāccham

nīḥum haṇṇam Vāṇṇakāḥi || g. 112.

139. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 31, g. 89.

140. *Gāthā*, 408.

141. *Gāthās* 403, 372.

Names like Vinhupālita, Venhu, and Lachinikā point in the same way to the worship of Viṣṇu. In the *Saptaśatakam*, Hari or Trivikrama is said to be superior to other gods. Birth of Lakshmī from the ocean of milk is also mentioned.¹⁴²

In conclusion it may be noted that one of the interesting religious data supplied by *Saptaśatakam* is the *vrata* of fire and water.¹⁴³



142. *Gāthās* 411 and 388 respectively.

143. *Gāthā*, 185.

CHAPTER VII

THE IKṢVĀKUS—THIRD CENTURY A.D.

The Purāṇic label for the Ikṣvāku kings

The Ikṣvākus of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Jaggaṃyapēṭa records are none other than the Purāṇic Śrīparvatīyas¹ i.e., the dynasty whose capital or home or kingdom lay in the Śrīparvata region,² also called Andhras³ of the lineage of the servants (*bhṛtyāḥ*) of the 'Andhra Sātavāhanas.'⁴ This identification which Mr. K. P. Jayswal⁵ was the first to suggest is supported by the following pieces of evidence⁶:—The Nāgārjunikoṇḍa epigraphs make it clear that during the period under review 'Śrīparvata' signified not any particular hill on the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa site or 'Śrīśailam'⁷ but the whole range of Nallamalai hills of which the hills surrounding the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa plateau and the 'Śrīśailam' peak are offshoots.⁸

1. a, c Mt. The rest 'Śrīparvatīya,' Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kelt Age*, p. 46, n. 30.

2. 'Chākalepakīyasa' 'of an inhabitant of Chakalepa (Nāsik No. 17, EI, Vol. VIII, p. 90) 'Paḍukulīkiya' (Lüders, Nos. 571 and 576) 'of an inhabitant of Paḍukulika.'

3. Bḍ. and Vṣ. 'Andhrabhṛtya,' Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 72, n. 5.

4. In the early Mt, Vā, Bḍ. and Vṣ. accounts.

5. JBORS, 1933, Parts I and II, p. 171.

6. These were not worked out by Mr. K. P. Jayswal.

7. ASR, 1926-27, p. 186 and ASSI, Vol. I, p. 7.

8. In the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa ins. *giri* is the word for 'peaks' and 'hillocks' (Cula-Dharmagiri is certainly the hillock now called Nāharāḥḥabōḍu on which the apsidal shrine built by Bodhisiri stands, Ins. P.). So 'Śrīparvata' of the same inscription cannot refer to a peak or hillock but to a whole range. The later Śrīparvata in the Kurnool District makes it improbable that the hills surrounding the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa site monopolised the name.

Scholars like Burgess and Dr. J. Ph. Vogel take seriously the Tibetan tradition preserved by Tāranātha that Nāgārjuna, the expounder of the Mādhyamika philosophy (second century A.D.), lived at Śrīparvata. Whilst they are agreed in identifying it with Hsuen-Tsang's Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li where a Sātavāhana is said to have quarried a monastery for Nāgārjuna, Burgess identifies them both with 'Śrīśailam' in the Kurnool District, and Dr. J. Ph. Vogel and the Epigraphy Department with Nāharāḥḥabōḍu or Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, a lofty hill overlooking the Kṛṣṇā at the northern end of the plateau. The Chinese pilgrim places Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala in a place 300 li (50 miles) to the south-west of its

No dynasty other than the Ikṣvāku could have ruled over the Kṛṣṇā-Guntur region immediately after the Sātavāhanas. The ornate alphabet, with long verticals, of the Ikṣvāku records shows only slightly developed forms over those of the Chinna Ganjam inscription of Siri-Yaṇa Sātakaṇi and the Jangli Guṇḍu inscription of Puṣumāvi III (probably the last of the Sātavāhanas). That the Ikṣvākus were once 'bhṛtyas' of the Sātavāhanas is shown by the Sātavāhana metonymies and prefixes to the names which they bear

capital. While speaking of T'o-na-kie-tse-kin (Dhānyakataka where the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa plateau would have lain) he speaks of neither Nāgārjuna nor his monastery. To identify Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li of the Dakṣiṇa-Kosala, which is placed by Hiuen Tsang 1200 li to the north of T'o-na-kie-tse-kin, with 'Śrīparvata' in the Guntur and Kurnool Districts is to go too wide of the mark. General Cunningham has identified Dakṣiṇa-Kosala with the province of Vidarbha, modern Berar, and its capital with modern Nagpur AGI, p. 585. This agrees with the Tibetan tradition that Nāgārjuna was a native of Vidarbha (Wassiljeu, Appendix to Tāranātha, pp. 361, 363). The Tibetan tradition that Nāgārjuna surrounded the Stūpa at Dhānyakataka (the Amarāvati Stūpa) with a railing is supported by none of the extant Amarāvati rail inscriptions of the second and third centuries A.D. N. Dutt has pointed out (IHQ, Vol. VII, p. 639) that the Gaṇḍavyāha, a work of about the third century A.D., speaks of Dhānyakara as a great city of Dakṣiṇāpatha and a seat of Mañjuśrī, who lived in an extensive forest and converted a large number of Nāgas and inhabitants of the place, but refers neither to Nāgārjuna nor to Śrīparvata.

A Jaggsyaspēta inscription which, on palaeographical grounds, should be ascribed to the seventh century A.D., mentions Candraprabha, his teacher Jayaprabha and the latter's teacher Nāgārjuna (Nāgārjunācārya, ASSI, Vol. I, p. 112. Pl. LXIII). The Sādhanaśālā mentions a tantric Nāgārjuna, one of the 84 Mahāsiddhas, who came after Saṅgha. B. Bhattacharya places the former in the seventh century A.D. (Sādhanaśālā, Vol. II, Intro. xiv-xiv, Guckwad's Oriental Series, XLI). The tradition preserved in the Pag-bsam-ljon-bzom (p. 86) is that, according to the account of the 84 Mahāsiddhas, one Nāgārjuna was born at Kahora, a part of Kāśī, and educated at Nālandā, where he practised the siddhis and visualised the goddess Tārā. He came to Śrīparvata, (IHQ, Vol. VII, p. 637). Tāranātha also mentions him (ibid., 638, n. 1). While there is thus evidence, literary and epigraphic, for connecting the second Nāgārjuna with Śrīparvata, there is at present no evidence which allows us to associate the first Nāgārjuna with Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

"The Maṇḍya Purāṇa speaks of a family of Śrī-Parasatiya Andhras, which may refer to a petty dynasty either at Śrī-Śaṭam itself or across the river at Chandaguptapatnam in the vicinity." ASSI, Vol. I, p. 7.

According to Prof. Rapson, "they were probably the Cuṭus, who rose to power in the western and southern districts after the reign of Śrī-Yajña" CIC, Andhras and Western Kṣatrapas, Intro. Ixix. But the identification suggested here makes Rapson's conjecture wrong.

(e.g., *siri* and *sāmi*)⁹; and it will be shown below that they were *Mahātalevaras* under the Sātavāhanas. Names into the composition of which 'Skanda' enters and the 'anaka' ending in names also point to Sātavāhana influence.¹⁰ The Ikṣvāku capital Vijayapuri is, in inscription F, stated to have been situated to the west of the Lesser Dhammagiri (Nāharālabōḍu mound.)¹¹

The find of nearly 148 lead coins of the Sātavāhana period at Nāgārjunikonda¹²—they are now in the Calcutta Museum and are said to be much corroded—indisputably shows that the kingdom of the Ikṣvākus or at least a part of it was included in the Sātavāhana empire. Whilst then, the south-western parts of the Sātavāhana empire fell to the Cuṭus, and the western parts to the Śakas, Abhīras and Gardabhillas, the eastern parts passed into the hands of the Ikṣvākus.

Duration of the dynasty

According to the Purāṇas, there were seven kings in the dynasty. But epigraphy has disclosed the names of only three. As regards the duration of the dynasty, the Purāṇic account is far from being clear. The *Matsya* which gives us the oldest version has 'dvi pañcāśatam' which, according to Pargiter, may mean 52 or 100. The *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* accounts, which according to him are corrupted, give 'dve ca śatam.' However, the *Vāyu* which next to the *Matsya* gives us the oldest version has 'dve arddha

9. Ins. L. EI. Vol. XXI.

10. Kathāsiri, A2, C3, etc., Kharḍaśālikireṇmanaka, B4.

11. "Siripavate Vijayapuriya puṇa-dīśi-bhāge vāhare Cula-Dhammagiriyaṇ cetiya-gharaṇa . . . at Siripavata (the Nāgārjunikonda site with the hills which form parts of the range which went by that name), a cetiya on the Cula-Dhammagiri standing to the east of Vijayapuri." In the central part of the valley which is now marked by cultivation and which is certainly to the north-west of the Nāharālabōḍu, Mr. Longhurst discovered a palace site (ASR, 1928-29, p. 104). From the elaborate ornamentation and the curious semi-classical objects portrayed on some of the pillars, it would seem that they once supported the roof of some royal palace. The pillar set up in memory of Sri-Cantamūla lay buried in the north-western part of the valley, not far from the river. Moreover, several ruined maṇḍapas or pavilions mark the site of the ancient city. Finally, the plateau shut in by hills on which there are remains of fortifications offered an ideal site for a capital. The Vijayapura of the Amarāvati inscription (ASSI, Vol. I, p. 85, No. 20, Pl. LVIII) is perhaps identical with the Vijayapuri of our inscription.

12. ASR: 1928-29; p. 103.

śata' which is undoubtedly 52. This conclusion is arrived at in another way. The earliest *Matsya* account which mentions the seven Śrīpārvaṭīya Āndhras ends with the mention of Kilakila kings; even the Vākātaka Vindhyasakti is not mentioned in this recension. The synchronism between Vākātaka Rudrasena II and Devagupta (Candragupta II 380-419)¹³ would place Vindhyasakti between 260 and 285 A.D.¹⁴ The earliest *Matsya* account was, therefore, closed before 260 A.D.¹⁵ The Sātavāhanas could not have disappeared from the political stage before 205 A.D. The Ikṣvākus, their successors, could, therefore, have ruled for only 52 and not 100 years. We know from inscriptions that Siri-Vīrapurisaśata and Ehuvaḷa Cāntamūla divided between themselves at least 31 years. A reign of 15 years may be assigned to Siri-Cāntamūla, 'the Unobstructed,' who is credited with many sacrifices and dānas and who seems to have lived to middle age.¹⁶ The short reigns of the last four kings would be evidence of the troublous times.¹⁷

Home of the Ikṣvākus

Dr. Sten Konow seeks their home in the western Deccan.¹⁸ The sources of his suggestion are the 'apaka' suffix to personal names in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and western cave inscriptions and the possibility of explaining some terms in the former through Kanarese. According to him, 'Khanda' is Kanarese 'Kanda' meaning 'child.' 'Caliki-remmanaka' is probably Kanarese 'Calikiraṇaka' 'moon.' "It also strikes me that Kanarese *karrumbu* means 'envy.'" "The *k* for *s* also points to Kanarese." We may point out, however, that 'Khanda' is a Prākṛt form of 'Skanda.' 'Karumbudhina' is a contraction for 'Karumbudhinaka'¹⁹ and 'karum' in Tamil means 'black' (adj.), and 'apaka'

13. Allan, *Gupta Dynasties*, pp. xxxiv, E.

14. Vindhyasakti, Pravarasena I, Gautamīputra Rudrasena I, Prthivī-sena I and Rudrasena II, CII, Vol. III, p. 235.

15. Pargiter arrives at the result in another way. *Op. cit.*, Intro. xxv, Sec. 44.

16. *Vide infra*, pp. 132-4.

17. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel says (*El*, Vol. XX, p. 6): "Dr. Bühler's assumption, based on palaeographical evidence that Siri-Vīrapurisaśata flourished in the third century of our era, may be accepted as probably correct." The identification suggested and the chronology worked out above definitely place the Ikṣvākus in the first half of the third century A.D.

18. *El*, Vol. XX, pp. 25-26.

19. Virama in Inscription F. is a contraction for Viramnaka.

is a name ending; and names like Ehuvuḷa, Aḍavi-Cāntisiri and Damila-Kaṇṇa betray Tamil influence. Since in an Amarāvati inscription of the time of Vāsithīputa sāmi Siri-Pulumāvi, an ordinary person bears a name with 'anaka' suffix,²⁰ the western influences shown by the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions are best considered as the result of Śātavāhana rule over the eastern Deccan and have no significance for the question of Ikṣvāku origins.

According to Bühler and Prof. Rapson²¹ the southern Ikṣvākus were Rājputs of northern descent—a dynastic drift of which we have instances like the Mauryas of Konkan, the Guttas of Guttal and the Cōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,²² Ikṣvāku, the progenitor of the Solar race, was the eldest among the nine sons of Manu; he ruled from Ayodhyā and had a hundred sons of whom Vikukṣi was the eldest and successor; of the other sons fifty were entrusted with small states in the north and 48 in the south. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Kośala (southern) was founded by Kuśa who ruled from Kośasthali.²³ The foundation of Āsmaka and Mūḷaka on the upper Godāvarī is ascribed to princes of Ikṣvāku descent. The Ikṣvāku drift into the Āndhradeśa must have taken place very early for them to have merged in the Āndhra tribe, for according to the *Purāṇas* the Ikṣvākus were Āndhras. A Kanarese work entitled *Dharmāmṛta* affords evidence of an early drift. In the time of the 12th *Tīrthaṅkara* Vaṣupūjya (third or second century B.C.), Ikṣvāku Yaśodhara of Aṅga carved a kingdom for himself in the Vēṅgī country, to use the later designation of the heart of the *Āndhradeśa*, and founded the town of Pratipālapura identified by Mr. M. S. Sarma with Bhaṭṭiprōlu.²⁴

20. *Vide supra*, p. 66; Lüders' List No. 1248.

21. *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 256 ff.; *CIC*, *Āndhras and Western Kāntropas*; xlv.

22. *Chap.* 88, 8 ff.

23. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Hall's edition, II, 172, n.

24. In a paper on *Jainism in South India* read before the Archaeological Society of South India.

Scholars like Burgess (*ASSI*, Vol. I, p. 111) and Caldwell (*Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, p. 115) look upon the Ikṣvāku descent claimed by the southern princes as an idle boast. Writes Caldwell: "The Aryan immigrants to the South appear to have been generally Brahmanical priests and instructors rather than Kshatriya soldiers; and the kings of the Pāṇḍyas, Chōlas, Kālīṅgas and other Dravidians appear to have been simply Dravidian chieftains whom their Brahmanical preceptors and spiritual directors . . . taught to imitate and emulate the grandeur and cultivated tastes of the Solar, Lunar and Agnikula races of kings." What, however, invests the claim of the Ikṣvākus with authenticity is that while

Rise of the Ikṣvākus

The Allūru Brāhmī inscription (Allūru is a village in the Nandigāma taluq of the Kṛṣṇā District) discovered a decade ago throws welcome light on the rise of the Ikṣvākus to power.²⁵ The āyaka-pillar inscriptions from Jaggayyapēta²⁶ prove beyond doubt that the Nandigāma taluq or part of it was included in the Ikṣvāku kingdom. The Allūru inscription which, on palaeographical grounds, is slightly earlier than the Amarāvati inscription of Vāsīthiputa śāmi Sīri-Puṣumāvi, mentions a *Mahātalevara* and a king.²⁷ As the

the Gaṅga (EC, Vol. VII, Sh. Nos. 4 and 61) and the Cōḷas (EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 26 and Kalīgottapparanā) trace their descent from Ikṣvāku, they did not assume Ikṣvāku as their dynastic name.

25. ARE, 1923-24.

26. ASSI, Vol. I, pp. 110-11. Pls. LXII and LXIII.

27. The epigraph does not give us either the name of the king or that of the *Mahātalevara*. In the *Celestia Review* for July 1925 Dr. Shamasastri edited this inscription. According to him, ll. 16-17 refer to Sans king of the Ayis; ll. 16-17 of the inscription however read:

"*kahayanana(śa) ca pura(na)ka sahasra akhagani(vi) esa Mahātalevaraśa deśa-dhama paricakṣa eta utarapase bhāpasa-nivatanāni eta sa-bhāriyasa sa-putakasa sandukasa ayirana(śa) Purnasiddhanta nigāyasa*"

The third letter in *sandukasa* read as *sa* is clearly so; a mention of the grandsons of the *Mahātalevara* (and not of the name of a king), after the mention of the wife and sons, is what is to be expected.

In the ARE, 1923-24, it was stated that "palaeographically it (the inscription) may be assigned to about the second century A.D. Most of the characters resemble those of the inscription of Sīri-Yaśa Śātakaṇi, while others are like those of Śātakaṇi I and Uṣavadata." The Chinna Ganjam inscription of the time of Sīri-Yaśa written in the ornate alphabet of the Nāgārjunikonda epigraphs is admittedly later than the Allūru inscriptions. A comparison with the Amarāvati inscriptions would have served the purpose far better; the early square characters of the Allūru type are to be found in some of the Amarāvati inscriptions which, belonging as they do to the various periods between the second century B.C. and third century A.D., (the Nāgārjunikonda alphabet is to be found in Nos. 36 and 42, ASSI, Vol. I, pp. 91 and 104, Pls. LVIII, LIX; and EI, Vol. XV, Nos. 27 and 54), enable us to trace clearly the evolution of the Brāhmī alphabet in the Kṛṣṇā valley. The Allūru characters resemble clearly those of No. 16 (ASSI, Vol. I, page 63 and Pl. XLIV, *ta, pa, sa, ja, ma, ha, a, ka, da* and *lo*). True, the Allūru *sa, ta, a, da* and *ka* somewhat resemble those in the inscription of the time of Puṣumāvi II, but the *i* and *u* signs in the former inscription as in Nos. 16 and 18, and the rounded form of *pa* are certainly earlier than those of Puṣumāvi's time. It might be argued that No. 16 is on a coping stone and must, therefore, belong to the reign of Vāsīthiputa śāmi Sīri-Puṣumāvi when the railing was

title and office of *Mahātalaṅgavara* combined with those of *Mahāsenāpati* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* was a feature of the Ikṣvāku period, and as the Ikṣvākus like the *Mahārāṭhis* were matrimonially connected with the *Sātavāhanas*, they were, like the *Mahārāṭhis*, feudatories under them. The feudatory title often met with in the *Āndhradeśa* is *Mahātalaṅgavara*. We would be justified in concluding that the ancestors of the Ikṣvākus were *Mahātalaṅgavaras* under the *Sātavāhanas*. After their fall *Siri-Cāntamūla*²⁸ founded his dynasty much in the same way as the *Mahārāṭhi* *Cuṭus* in the south-western parts and the *Ābhīras* in the western parts.

The founder of the line—Siri-Cāntamūla. 'The Unobstructed'²⁹

Whilst *Vāsīṭhīputa Siri-Cāntamūla* is extolled by his sisters, his father is not even mentioned in their inscriptions.³⁰ *Cānta-*

enlarged and new stūpa slabs set up. No. 52 is on a coping stone of the outer railing, but in early square characters. An inscription of the reign of *Sivamaka Sada* (*kañi*) which is palaeographically later than that of *Vāsīṭhīputa sāmī Siri-Puṣumāvi*, is also on an outer rail coping stone. It would, therefore, seem that alterations in or additions to the railings of the Stūpa (*Mahācetiya*) were made from time to time.

28. *Cāntamūla* in A2, A3, A4, C1, C2, C3, D4, and X; *Cāṇā* is clear in E, G, and H.

Cāṇā is clear in C4, G2, G3, L, M, etc. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel thinks that probably *Cāṇā* is the correct form. The dictum of Senart that when the *anusvāra* is found in some cases and absent in others, it is certain that the scribe or engraver omitted it by mistake makes it certain that *Cāṇā* is the correct form.

Prākṛt Cāntamūla has been Sanskritized by D. C. Sircar and K. P. Jayaswal as *Sāntamūla* and by Dr. Vogel as *Ksāntamūla*. *Cuṭa* which in the *Nāgārjunikonda* inscriptions is opposed to *Mahā* is certainly Sanskrit *Kṣudra*—small. On this analogy *Cāṇā* would be *Kṣānta* only. In the inscription under reference *śa* becomes *sa* and not *ca*. (See Childers *Pali-Eng. Dic., cullo*).

29. *Apatihatasamākopa*.

30. On the other hand he is mentioned by his daughter *Adavi-Cāntisiri*.

Among Ikṣvākus there is a preference for names beginning with *cānta*. A sister of *Siri-Cāntamūla* is called *Cāntisiri*. His grandson is called *Ehuvuṭa Siri-Cāntamūla*.

Cuṭa-Cāntisiri of the *Kulahaka* family would seem to have been a descendant of an Ikṣvāku princess married into the *Kulahaka* family; as the office of the *Mahātalaṅgavara* would seem to have been hereditary in the *Kulahaka* family as in the *Dhanaka* and *Puṭiya* families, as *Cuṭa Cāntisirinikā* is herself married to a *Mahātalaṅgavara* and as the Ikṣvākus are matrimonially connected with the *Mahātalaṅgavaras* such a conjecture has strong support.

mūla would therefore seem to have been the founder of the line.³¹ That he possessed sovereign powers is indicated by the title 'Mahārāja'³² attached to his name, and fittingly enough his sisters, mother and consorts erected a pillar and perhaps a stūpa also in his honour.³³ But we have no lithic record of his reign. All that we know about him is furnished by the memorial pillar and by the inscriptions of the reigns of his son and grandson.

His reign

In a passage which occurs in most of the inscriptions, Siri-Cāntamūla is credited with the performance of *Agniṣṭoma*, *Agni-hotra*, *Āśvamedha*, and *Vājapeya* sacrifices. Whilst *Jyotir-Agni-ṣṭoma* is the simplest of *Soma* liturgies and *Agnihotra* a modest *Havir-Yajña*, *Vājapeya* was a complex rite at the end of which the performer sat upon the throne and was hailed 'Samrāt'—'emperor'. The fact that only three south Indian princes of the early period are said to have performed it (Siri-Sātakaṇi I, Pallava Śiva-Skandavarman and Siri-Cāntamūla) shows how powerful Siri-Cāntamūla must have been. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*³⁴ and *Kātyāyana's Śrauta-sūtra*³⁵ it is said that by offering *Rājasūya* one becomes a

31. The Memorial Pillar Inscriptions (EI, Vol. XXI, L.) shows that Siri-Cāntamūla's father indulged in a plurality of wives (*mātṛāḥ*) unless indeed it be that the term is an honorific plural employed by the daughters of his only wife. But even a plurality of wives does not indicate the father's kingly position, for even nobles and high dignitaries of state would have followed the example set up by kings, as their metronymies would show.

32. Cāntamūla is referred to as *Rājan* in the Memorial Pillar Inscription. K. P. Jayaswal's contention that the title of *Mahārāja* applied to Siri-Cāntamūla indicates his feudatory position whilst the title of *Rājan* applied to Siri-Virapurisadatta shows that the royal position was assumed by the latter cannot therefore be upheld. In the *Itavāku* records the titles *Rājan* and *Mahārāja* are indifferently used. Siri-Virapurisadatta bears the title of *Rājan* in most of the inscriptions and *Mahārāja* in inscriptions G and H. (EI, Vol. XX). Ehuvaṇa Siri-Cāntamūla is styled *Mahārāja* in G and *Rājan* in G2 and G3.

33. Though the inscription records the setting up of the pillar only, the dome with the railing, having *cetiya*-arches over the gates, in the first panel might be a representation of a stūpa erected in his honour. However Stūpa No. 9 near which the pillar lay buried, contained only the bones of an ox, deer and hare along with a broken doll's head made of red pottery. ASR, 1928-30, p. 149.

34. V, 1.1.13.

35. XV, 1.1. 2.

Rājan, and by offering the *Vājapeya* a *Samrāt*. According to them the office of 'Rājan' is the lower and that of 'Samrāt' the higher. The passage in the inscription also credits Siri-Cāntamūla with gifts of lumps of gold, ploughs of land³⁶ and cows and oxen. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel looks upon the passage as conventional.³⁷ But in the fifth panel of the memorial pillar Siri-Cāntamūla is represented as standing in plain attire, bareheaded, wearing sandals and holding a staff in his hands. But for the parasol over his head he would look an ordinary person. By his side is an attendant holding a vessel containing libation water. Before him are five Brahmins;³⁸ one of them who is very young is stretching his right hand to receive a gift from the king. On the ground is seen a heap of round pieces of uncoined metal.³⁹ Here is undoubtedly a representation of the gift of crores of 'hiraṇya' (*hiraṇyapīṇḍas* or uncoined gold pieces of a definite weight) with which Siri-Cāntamūla is credited.⁴⁰

His personality, sisters and queens

Of the representation of the Sātavāhanas or kings of their *bhṛtya* lines on stone, we have only two clear instances. One is that of king Simuka, his son Siri-Sātakani I and the latter's family, the other is that of Siri-Cāntamūla on the memorial pillar. In all the four panels he is represented as a corpulent person. In the second and third panels he wears a low cap. The fourth panel shows him riding the state elephant fully caparisoned, with the attendant seated behind him holding a parasol over his head. He is followed by five or six marching attendants, one of whom is a dwarf.

36. 'go-astamhasa-kula-astamhasa paddāyasa.' Regarding the various kinds of measure of land called 'plough' see Kullūka on *Manu* VII, 119.

37. *Et*, Vol. XX, p. 6.

38. Dr. Vogel calls them monks. (*Et*, Vol. XXI, p. 62). According to Mr. Hirananda Sastri they are royal ladies and officials; the young person is prince Virapurisadatta. *ASR*, 1929-30, pp. 165, 166.

39. Unlike coins they are thick globules.

40. D. C. Sircar would see in the compound 'aneka-hiraṇya-koti-go-astamhasa' a reference to some of the *mahādānas*. Probably the gift of cows or oxen and gold pieces was made on the occasion of sacrifices. It is noteworthy that in the last panel Siri-Cāntamūla with his hair cut and carrying a staff is like a performer of *Agnistoma*. What appears to be thrown over his shoulders is perhaps the skin of an antelope. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p. 162.

Unlike his father and son who indulged in many wives, Siri-Cāntamūla had only two queens. In the panels he is represented as sitting with two queens. In the inscription where his 'mahā-devīs' are mentioned we have 'subhatarikāhī ca Sarasikāya, Kusumalatāya.' 'Subhatarikāhī' is a mistake for 'Subhāfarikāhī' (Sansk. *Subhāṭṭārikābhī*)—'by his own ladies' or wives. Thus in the inscription also only two queens are mentioned.

Haṁmasirinikā and Cāntisiri are the sisters of Siri-Cāntamūla. The former would seem to have died before the twentieth year of Siri-Virapurisadata and the latter between his eighteenth and twentieth regnal years. Unlike Siri-Cāntamūla, a staunch follower of the Brahmanical religion, the two sisters were ardent Buddhists (lay disciples), and it is to the latter's munificence that we owe some of the most important monuments in the Nāgārjunikonda plateau.⁴¹

Conclusion

Since the portrait representation of Cāntamūla shows us a middle-aged person, he would seem to have died at middle age; this is made very probable by the fact that his mother and step-mothers (*mātāhī*) lived up to the twentieth year of his son's reign. No Buddhist monument in the valley can be definitely attributed to his reign. He was, like some of the Western Cālukya kings, a protégé of Mahāsena, 'the Virūpakhapati' ('lord of Virūpākṣa hosts').⁴² Until fresh evidence turns up, his attitude towards Buddhism and the Buddhist activities of the royal ladies must remain unknown. Since daughter, sister, grand-daughter and daughter-in-law are all anxious to state their relationship to him, Siri-Cāntamūla was evidently looked upon as the most famous in the line.⁴³

41. Cāntisiri who was born of a Vāsīṭhi, was married to a Mahāsenaapati, Mahātalaśara Vāsīṭhiputa Kharṇāsiri of the Pūkiya clan. Such an endogamous marriage seems peculiar. As the Mahātalaśaras borrowed metonyms from their kings it is no wonder they did not look upon the former as an institution for regulating marriages.

42. EI, vol. XX, p. 6.

"From the expression *Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa*, which is applied to Cāntamūla, it may perhaps be concluded that he was a votary of the god Mahāsena or Skanda, 'the lord of the Virūpākṣas'. The term Virūpākṣa (= Skt. *Virūpākṣa*) seems to be used here to indicate the hosts of which Skanda is the lord and leader."

"The word Virūpākṣa (Skt. *Virūpākṣa*), indicating a class of snakes, occurs in an ancient snake-charm. *Vinaya Pīṭakam* . . ." *ibid.*

43. B2, C3, E, C2, H and G. EI, vol. XX.

*Vīrapurisadatta*⁴⁴

Māḍharipuṭa Sīri-Vīrapurisadatta was not as great as his father Sīri-Cāntamūla. Even so his reign marks a glorious epoch in the history of Buddhism in the Kṛṣṇā valley. Probably one or two matrimonial alliances of far-reaching importance were contracted during his reign.

Alliance with the powerful house of Caṣṭana

Like their masters the Sātavāhanas, the Ikṣvākus also contracted matrimonial alliance with the Śaka dynasty of Ujjain. An āyaka pillar epigraph dated in the sixth year of Sīri-Vīrapurisadatta records the donation of a pillar and 170 *dināri-māsakas*⁴⁵ by 'Mahādevī Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā, an 'Ujenika Mahārājabalikā.' Now that we know the names of the two queens of Sīri-Cāntamūla it is

44. Bühler, (IA, vol. XI, p. 257) and following him Burgess (ASSI, Vol. I, p. 111) take both 'sīri' and 'vīra' as honorific prefixes. Bühler's argument is that a name like 'Vīrapurisadatta' would compel us to assume the existence of a deity called 'Vīrapuruṣa' which hitherto is not known. (datte=given by, Puruṣa=Viṣṇu). Names like Vīraśālikā and Vīraśūka (inscription F.) make 'vīra' part of a personal name. When two or more honorific prefixes adorn a name, they always precede 'sīri': i.e., what immediately follows 'sīri' is the personal name, e.g., Śiva Sīri-Āpīlaka, Śiva Sīri-Sātakani. Lüders, *op. cit.*, No. 1127.

45. D. C. Sircar would attribute the presence of *dināri-māsakas* to Śaka matrimonial alliance. Dr. Vogel would attribute it to the vast seaborne trade between the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī region and the West through the emporiums of Kantakosyia, Palūra, Koddūra, etc. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's theory is supported by the following facts:—The find of Roman coins of the period from 68-217 A.D. (JRAS, 1904, pp. 599 ff.), at Vinukonda in the Guntur district and in the Nellore and Cuddapah districts; the mention of a 'vaddābhikero(ra) yonaka disikayo' (a Greek lamp resembling the 'vaddā' fish in shape) in the Allūra inscription (A lamp of the fish shape has been found at P'ang Tuk. It might have gone there direct from Europe or Asia-Minor or the eastern coast of South India, ABIA, 1927, Pl. 8); and the Graeco-Roman influences discernible in the Amarāvati sculptures of the middle of the second century A.D. As Gotamīputa Sīri-Yaśa Sātakani and Vāsīthūputa Sīri-Sātakani struck silver in imitation of Ksatrapa coinage with the Head of the King (the Ksatrapas derived the obverse of their coins, i.e., Head of King from the denarii brought into India by way of commerce, Rapson, *op. cit.*, cviii and cix), it is not improbable that the denarius was introduced in the wake of Sātavāhana conquest of the eastern Deccan. The relic casket from Stūpa No. 6, has yielded two coin-like medallions of thin gold $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter, each embossed with a head which makes the impression of being meant for a portrait (ASR, 1929-30, Pl. 37).

not possible to consider her as his queen; she would therefore appear to have been a queen of Virapurisadata.⁴⁶ As she is said to have donated money for the building of the Mahācetiya while the work was going on, the matrimonial alliance must have been contracted before the sixth year of Siri-Virapurisadata's reign,⁴⁷ possibly even during the reign of his father. As Ozēne is mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of Tiasanes⁴⁸ (Caṣṭana) and as 'Rudra' often enters into the personal names of Western Kṣatrapas of the Caṣṭana line who style themselves Rājā,⁴⁹ Dr. Vogel's conjecture that Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā belonged to the house of Caṣṭana is very sound.⁵⁰ As Siri-Virapurisadata's reign would fall in the second and third decades of the third century A.D. she might have been a daughter of any one of the following Western Kṣatrapas:—Rudrasena I (S. 122-44), Rudrasīmha I (son of Rudradāman), Prthivisena (son of Rudrasena I), Saṅghadāman and Dāmasena (S. 144-58), sons of Rudrasīmha I. The alliance would have gained Kṣatrapa recognition for the new dynasty.⁵¹

Other queens

Other queens of Siri-Virapurisadata were Chaṭhisirī and Bapī-sirīnikā, daughters of Haimāsirī, and Bhaṭṭidevā,⁵² the daughter of Cāntisirīnikā.^{52a} The marriage between the king and Bhaṭṭidevā would have taken place between the sixth and fifteenth

46. Unlike the other queens of Virapurisadata, Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā does not state her relationship to him.

47. The year in which the Mahācetiya was consecrated.

48. McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, Book VII, Chap. I, sec. 63.

49. Rudrasena III is styled *Mahārāja* on some coins of Mahākṣatrapa Siṅhasena. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

50. Dr. Vogel reads 'Ujanika Mahārāṣṭrikā' but the *o* sign over *ja* is partially visible (the Prākṛt form of Ujjain is Ujjeni or Ujjeni). The learned doctor's correction of 'Mahārāṣṭrikā' into 'Mahārājāṣṭrikā' is certainly warranted by the sense of the passage and the numerous mistakes of the scribe or the engraver to be found in the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions.

51. This alliance accounts for the sculpture of a Śāka warrior on one of the Nāgārjunikonda pillars (ABIA, 1927, Pl. VI), and for the donations by a Śāka girl (EI, vol. XX, p. 37).

52. *ś* is clear in G3. EI, vol. XXI, Pl.

52a. Bhaṭṭidevā does not however expressly call herself a daughter of Cāntisirīnikā. It can only be inferred from the facts that both of them were Vāsīthīs and that Cāntisirī calls Siri-Virapurisadata, 'her own son-in-law' (*sparaṇa śvaddituka*) in some inscriptions (E, MI, etc.).

years⁵³ of his reign. As Bhaṭṭidevā's son ascended the throne not long after the twentieth year of Siri-Virapurisadata's reign, the marriage must have taken place soon after the sixth year.⁵⁴

Alliance with the Cuṭus

Another power of importance in south-western India of the third century A.D. was the Cuṭu whose kingdom extended as far north as Kanḥēri and as far east as Anantapur. The political sense of the Ikṣvākus that dictated an alliance with the Western Kṣatrapas also dictated an alliance with the Cuṭus. An inscription dated in the eleventh year of Ehuvaḷa Siri-Cāntamūla records the benefactions of Mahādevī Kodabalisiri,⁵⁵ daughter of Siri-Virapurisadata, half sister (*bhaginī*, not *sodarā bhaginī*) of the king and wife of a Vanavāsaka-Mahārāja.⁵⁶ Scholars are agreed that Banavāsi

53. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel is of opinion that the marriage took place between the 6th and 18th year. But inscriptions M1 to M5 (EI, Vol. XXI) dated in the 15th year mention Siri-Virapurisadata as the son-in-law of Cāntisiri; the latter calls herself his aunt (*pitua*) in an inscription of the sixth year of his reign.

54. The significance of the Ikṣvāku system of marriages has been discussed along with metronymics (*vide supra*).

55. Ins. H, EI, Vol. XX.

56. Both forms Vanavāsa or Vanavāsi occur in the Nāgarjūnikonda inscriptions (H and F). Vanavāsakas or Vanavāsins are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (6.366) as a people dwelling in South India. The Mahāvastu mentions the conversion of Vanavāsi by Rakkhita (Chap. XII, p. 84, evidently the kingdom).

The *ka* suffix indicates the place to which the king belonged, i.e., his capital or his kingdom e.g. Kantakasolaka='inhabitant of Kantakasola' (ASSI, Vol. I, p. 106); and Nāsikaka='inhabitant of Nāsik.' (EI, Vol. VIII; Nos. 20 and 22). The compound 'Ujanika-Mahāra(ja)balikā' makes it more probable that the capital is referred to here. We may also note the forms 'Vaiṣṭepaka Hastivarma' and 'Kāśceyaka Viṣṇugopa' which occur in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (CII, Vol. III, p. 3 t. 1. 4). Dr. Vogel places modern Banavāsi, which represents the remains of the old town, in the Shimoga Dt. of the Mysore State (EI, Vol. XX, p. 8). It is, however, in the Sirsi taluq of the North Kanara Dt. (Bombay Presidency) (Survey map 48 F14; Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Series, Vol. VI). Dr. Bühler has quoted St. Petersburg Dictionary to the effect that Vaijayanti occurs both in Brahmanical and Jain books as the name of a town in the coast of the Konkan, and has suggested that it is the seaport Byzantion of the Greeks. (CII, p. 28, n.). The identity of Vaijayanti with Banavāsi is however established by the following points: Jayanti as the name of Banavāsi occurs in many records notably in an inscription at Banavāsi itself at the temple of Madhukeshvara which records that the stone cot of Madhukeshvara

Vanavāsi, or Vanavāsa is another name for Vaijayanti (Prākṛt, Vejayanti).⁵⁷ The Maṭavalli pillar inscription of a Cuṭu Sātakaṇi mentions Vaijayanti as his capital. Since Kaphēri, which, as late as the reign of Siri-Yaṇa, was in the Sātavāhana empire, came into the possession of the Cuṭus,⁵⁸ and since neither the Banavāsi nor the Maṭavalli inscriptions⁵⁹ can be ascribed to a period later than the third century A.D., it is certain that the Cuṭus rose to power in the third century on the ruins of Sātavāhana power. The Cuṭus bear the title of 'Mahārāja'.⁶⁰

The Buddhist monuments of his reign

The central royal Buddhist figure in the reign is Cāntisiri. To this donatrix, the 'mahādānapatini', the 'velāmika dāna paṭibhāga vachikena dhāra padāyini'⁶¹ goes the credit of having given an impetus to the beautification of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley,⁶² which bids fair to prove of more interest than Amarāvati. She would even seem to have been responsible for the Buddhist leanings of Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā, Chaṭhisiri Cula-Cāntisirinikā and Bepisirinikā.⁶³ The most important foundation of Cāntisiri was the 'Mahācetiya' enshrining the 'dhātu' of the Great Teacher,⁶⁴ consecrated in the

was presented at the town of Jayanti (IA, Vol. IV, p. 207, No. 8), and this god who was the family deity of the Kadambas of Hanagal is always called in their records Madhukēśvara of Jayanti.

Senart remarks (EI, Vol. VII, p. 40): "In addition to the instances quoted by Dr. Burgess, where Jayanti seems to represent Banavāsi, one might perhaps ask if in the Banavāsi inscription the letter which has been read as or such before jayāntokasa (1.2) might not be a ve, in which case the sculptor Damōraka would be designated as a native of Vaijayanti." The letter is clearly so and nothing else.

57. EC, Vol. VII, p. 251, No. 263 t.l.l.

58. Lüders' List, No. 1021.

59. IA, Vol. XIV, Pl. EC, Vol. VII, pl.

60. IA, Vol. XIV, p. 331; ASWI, Vol. V, p. 86.

61. C3, EI, Vol. XX, p. 16, t. II, 8 and 9.

62. The reason for her choice of this site must have been its vicinity to the capital.

63. They want to attain Nirvāna. B4, B5, C2, and C4.

64. Whilst Dr. Vogel thinks that Cāntisiri built the Mahācetiya, Mr. Hirananda Sastri maintains (ASR, 1928-29) that she only rebuilt or enlarged an older stūpa. The latter view rests upon the following arguments, some of them not expressly stated:—The Amarāvati, Ghantasālā and Jaggayyapēṭa Stūpas, which on epigraphical evidence belong to a period much earlier than the second century A.D., were enlarged, and āyaka platforms were added to them during the second century A.D. If the Stūpa was built by Cāntisiri, the inscriptions would have told us how the relics of the Teacher which the

sixth year of Siri-Virapurisadata. The Stūpa which is fifty feet in diameter, is in the shape of a wheel, with spokes, hub, tyre and all complete.⁶⁵ Cāntisiri was aided in the undertaking by other Bud-

Stūpa is said to enshrine were obtained; whilst the terms 'patthapita' and 'thāpitā' are used, with reference to the erection of 'śyaka-kharibbhas,' 'cetiya-gharas' and 'sela-maṇḍavas,' 'sammuthāpiya' and 'nithāpitā' are used with reference to the Mahācetiya (B5 and C1). Dr. Vogel cites the authority of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (EI, Vol. XX, p. 30) to show that 'nithāpiya' means completed. In inscription C1, the Mahācetiya is called 'navakāraṃam'; the 'navakāraṃam' is said to have been the Reverend Ananda, who knew the Majjhima and Dīgha Nikāyas by heart. According to the *Viṅaya Piṭaka* (SBE, XX, pp. 189 ff.) a 'navakāraṃam' is "a religious edifice" erected by a lay member (*upāsaka* or *upāsika*) for the *Saṅgha*.

Whilst the fact that the outer drum and the interior of the Mahācetiya are built of bricks of the same size negatives the theory of enlargement, the fact that it is built of bricks of the same size as those used for the upśidal temples built during the Ikṣvāku period (20"x10"x3") and other Buddhist monuments in the valley, and the fact that the relic caskets in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa stūpas are all nearly alike, prove Dr. Vogel's theory. If the Mahācetiya is older than the Ikṣvāku period, we would have found older epigraphs and sculptures of which no traces remain; no doubt if the pot containing the silver relic casket found in one of the northern chambers of the Stūpa had been intact, it might have given us an inscription and proved beyond doubt the age of the Stūpa. (The relic consists of a fragment of bone of the size of a pea found inside a tiny round gold box 3/4" in diameter. This with a few gold flowers, pearls and garnets was placed in the silver casket shaped like a stūpa. The latter was, however, found corroded and broken to pieces).

Vogel translates "naṃo Bhagavato sarvama sambuddhasa dhātuvāra perigahitassa Mahācetiye" into "adoration to the Blessed one the supreme Buddha absorbed by the best of elements at the Mahācetiya.". Dr. Hirananda Sastri links dhātuvāraparigahita with Mahācetiye and thinks that the Mahācetiya was protected by the corporeal remains of the Buddha. I am wholly unable to accept this as we cannot link the genitive perigahitassa with the locative Mahācetiye (EI, Vol. XX, p. 29 note 1). The interpretation proposed by Vogel on the authority of M. L. de la Vallée Poussin for the difficult phrase dhātuvāraparigahita is quite acceptable. Mahācetiye commences a fresh sentence and must be linked up with śyaka-kharibbha thāpitā.

While stūpas of less importance at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (Stūpa No. 6 and Stūpa No. 9 especially) were decorated with carved marble slabs and coping stones, the Mahācetiya would seem to have been executed in simple style like the stūpas of Ceylon. As will be shown below, there was active communication between Ceylon and the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley.

The remains of the Mahācetiya are the drum fifty feet in diameter, and twenty feet high at the centre, the śyaka platforms, śyaka-kharibbhas, some of them in fragments, the foundations of the enclosure wall and the gateways.

65. According to Mr. Longhurst, all the Āndhradeśa stūpas are built in

dhist and non-Buddhist royal ladies and private individuals.⁶⁶ Mahādevī Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā donated money and an āyaka pillar.⁶⁷ Adavi-Cāntisiri, Chāṭhisiri, Bapisiripikā and Cula-Cāntisirikā of the Kulahaka family, each contributed an 'āyaka-khaṇḍa.' A slab and a coping stone were donated by a Chadakapavatica and his wife Padumavānī together with their sons and daughters. However, nine āyaka-pillars or more were set up by Cāntisiri.

The practice of erecting *vihāras* and *cetiyaḥaras* or apsidal temples⁶⁸ by the side of *stūpas* was followed in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley also. Close to the Mahācetiya on the eastern side is an apsidal temple;⁶⁹ an inscription incised on the marble floor of the shrine in two lines records its foundation by Cāntisiri in the eighteenth year of Viṣṇuśatābhara's reign 'for the sake of his victory and longevity of life.'⁷⁰ To the east of the apsidal temple are fragments of thirty-six pillars, some of them just rising out of the ground, pillars which must have supported the roof of a *mandapa*. Frag-

this style (IA, Vol. 61, p. 108). But the Jāgannayapēṭa Stūpa was formed of earth in layers about two feet thick over each of which was laid a close flooring of very large bricks closely fitted together (ASSI, Vol. I, p. 108).

66. EI, Vol. XX, p. 25, Inscriptions I and J.

67. The meaning of 'āyaka' is not settled. Some would connect it with 'āyaka', 'āyaka' (āyaka) meaning 'venerable or worshipful'. In our epigraphs we have 'āyaka' not 'āyaka'; 'āyaka' is used as a noun; and the fact that āyaka pillars bear inscriptions (EI, Vol. XX, H; Vol. XXI, G2, G3) little favours the theory that they were objects of worship. *Āyaka* is rendered by Lüders and Burgess as 'entrance'. Dr. Vogel objects to this rendering on the ground that in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Amarāvati inscriptions, the word for entrance or gate is 'dāsa' (F. EI, Vol. XX; ASSI, Vol. I, No. 44). An inscription on a coping-stone (ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. XLVIII; fig. 4) of a Cetiya platform has 'utarāyake pēṭa dāsa' (ibid, p. 93). Another inscription (No. 47, p. 86) on an āyaka-pillar (Pl. XLV, No. 1), records the gift of a 'Cetiya-khaṇḍa' (āyaka-pillar) at the 'dakhināyaka' (dakhināyake not dakhināyaka as Burgess has read it). But in No. 15 Pl. lvi we have 'utarāyake usāsa dānam.' Since the inscription is on an outer rail coping, 'āyaka' here means 'gateway.' Pali 'ayo' means 'entrance'. Thus in the Amarāvati inscription 'āyaka' is used to denote 'something at the entrance,' as well as projections facing entrances. It would, therefore, seem that the projections received that name from the fact that they faced entrances or 'gateways.'

68. 'Cetiya-ghara'. It seems that 'ghara' was restricted to halls used for worship, e.g., 'śaśa-ghara' Kārlā No. 1, (EI, Vol. VII); Cetiya-ghara Kūṭā Nos. 15 and 23 (CTI), Nāśik Nos. 18 and 19 (EI, Vol. VIII).

69. Plate VI, Nos. 2 and 3.

70. *apena jām(ā)tukasa raṇa M(ā)theriputasa-Ikh(ā)kumam Sīri-Viśā-pariudatasa āyu-vadhanike vajayike*, (EI, Vol. XX, E.).

ments of inscriptions on those pillars put together, record the foundation of a pillared-hall surrounded by a cloister (*cātusāla-parigahitaṃ*)⁷¹ and its consecration in the eighth fortnight of the rainy season of the fifteenth year of the reign.

A private donatrix who emulated Cāntisiri was the lay disciple Bodhisiri, daughter of the householder Revata and Budhannikā, belonging to Govagāma⁷² and niece of the treasurer (*Koṭṭhāgarika*) Bhada (Sanskrit Bhadra). The foundations attributed to her are two '*Cetiya-gharas*'—(one on the Lesser Dhaṇmagiri by the side of a *vihāra*⁷³ as the special property of the *theris* (nuns) of Ceylon,⁷⁴ and another at *Kulaka-vihāra*,⁷⁵ a shrine for the Bodhi-tree (i.e.,

71. EI, Vol. XXI, p. 65. But no traces of the quadrangular building remain.

72. As Bodhisiri dedicates her apsidal-temple to the *theris* of Ceylon, she was probably a native of Ceylon. N. Dutt identifies Govagāma with Govagāmaka, mentioned as a port in Ceylon in the *Mahāvamsa* (IHQ, Vol. VII, p. 603, n. 2).

73. The *vihāra* referred to still stands on the Naharājlabōḍu mound.

74. Dr. Vogel's translation of '(bha)danita (rā)jāsiriyaṇaṃ Kasmira-Gandhāra—Cīna—Cikṣa—Tosali—Aparāntaka—Vaniga—Vanavāsi—Yavana—Da(mila) (Pa)lura—Tambapanni-dīpa paśaśadakāṇaṃ theriyaṇaṃ Tamhapa(ṇa)nakāṇaṃ-superiorahe Cetiya-gharaṃ kṛitaṃ' (F, t. I, 1) as "Cetiya-shrine erected for the acceptance of the fraternities of Ceylon who have converted Kasmira etc.," is not satisfactory. Not even the *Mahāvamsa* does credit Ceylonese monks with the conversion of various countries. Keeping in mind the analogy of the Kārlā and Nāsik inscription (Kārlā Nos. 19 and 20, Nāsik Nos. 2, 3 and 4; also EI Vol. I, p. 249), we might translate thus:—"*Cetiya* shrine erected for the venerable teachers who converted Kasmira etc. for the special acceptance of (as the special property) of the *theris* of Ceylon." This agrees with the account of the Ceylonese chronicles (the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*) that Ceylon, Kasmira, Gandhāra, Mahiṣamanḍala, Vanavāsi, Aparāntaka, Mahārāṣṭra, Himālaya and Suvannabhūmi, were converted by monks sent from India by Moggaliputta Tissa. Ceylon is said to have been converted by Asoka's son Mahinda (*Mahāvamsa* Chap. XIII, pp. 88 ff). The inscription "Moggaliputtasa" on relic caskets from Andher and Sāñci stūpas makes Moggaliputta Tissa a historical personality (Lüders' Nos. 664, and 682).

In a learned paper in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Vol. VII, pp. 651 ff) N. Dutt has objected to Vogel's translation of *paśāda* as 'who converted.' According to Dutt as '*paśāda*' in the *Mahāvamsa* means 'serene joy,' *paśādekāṇaṃ* 'of those who brought serene joy.' But the account of the conversion of countries given in the *Mahāvamsa* makes Vogel's translation acceptable (Childers, *paśāda*).

75. Vide *supra*.

a railing around it) at the *Sihaja-vihāra*,⁷⁴ one cell at the Great *Dharmagiri*,⁷⁵ a *maṇḍava* pillar at the *Mahāvihāra*,⁷⁶ a hall for religious practice at *Devagiri*, a tank, verandah and *maṇḍava* at *Puvasela*,⁷⁷ a stone *maṇḍava* at the eastern gate of the *Mahācetiya* at *Kaṇṭakasela*,⁷⁸ three cells at *Hirunthuva*, seven cells at *Papilā*,⁸¹ a stone *maṇḍava* at *Puphagiri*, and a stone *maṇḍava* at the.....
vihāra.

Ehuvula Cāntamūla

The son of *Māgharīputa* *Siri-Virapurisadatta* by *Vāsīṭhi Bhaṭṭi-devā* was *Ehuvula Cāntamūla*, the last known king of the dynasty.⁸² That he ruled for at least eleven years is shown by the inscription of his half-sister *Kodabalīsiri* (H).

74. On the analogy of *Kulaha-vihāra*, *Sihaja-vihāra* would mean the *vihāra* built by the Ceylonese monks or nuns or laymen. Perhaps a branch of the Bodhi-tree at Ceylon was planted at *Nāgarjunikoṇḍa*.

77. Could it be the mound to the north-west of, and not far away from the *Cula-Dharmagiri*? On this mound are the remains of a *stūpa* and *śala maṇḍapa*; the latter consists of a series of four cells on each of the north-east and west sides and a pillared hall 30' 6" x 30' in the south with an open court situated between the pillared hall and the *stūpa*. The roof of the hall rested on sixteen pillars; all of them with the exception of two at the south-east and south-west ends have fallen down. (Plate V Nos. 1 and 4 ASR 1926-27, pp. 158-59).

78. Could this be the *Mahā-vihāra* (lit. Great monastery) to which the '*Mahācetiya*' is said to have been attached (B5).

79. According to *Hsuen-Tsang* it stood to the east of the capital of *Tona-kie-tse-kia* (*Dhānyakataka*). It gave its name to a Buddhist school.

80. The name occurs in an *Amarāvati* inscription (ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. lxi; No. 54); *Burgess* and *Lüders* have read it as *Kaṇṭakasela*. But the *śaṣṭhāra* is clear on the plate. An inscription from *Peddavēgi* mentions *Kaṇṭakosāla* (MER, 1926-27 No. 219). It is certainly the port *Kaṇṭakosāla* which is mentioned by *Ptolemy* (Bk. VII, Chap. I, Sec. 14) and placed by him just north of the mouth of the *Kṛṣṇā* and which transliterates *Kaṇṭakosāla* (the spear of thorns) the Sanskrit form of *Kaṇṭakasela*. The name is preserved in the modern *Ghaṇṭasālā*, a village thirteen miles to the west of *Masulipatam* and the sea. There is a *Cetiya* in the village (Rea, South Ind. Bud. Antiquities, pp. 4 ff), and on the southern boundary of the village there is a mound named *Polimēradibba* on which loose bricks appear. Surely these are traces of Buddhist buildings (Ibid., p. 42). But no trace of the *śala-maṇḍava* at the eastern gate of the *Mahācetiya* is available.

81. *Papilā* is perhaps identical with the *Pāpikala* of the *Allūru* inscription.

82. H. t. II. 3 and 10, *Ehuvula*; G2 t. I. 8, *Ehuvula*; G3 *Ehuvula*. Only in G3 is *e* turned sideways. K. P. Jayaswal agrees with *Hirananda Sastri*

Buddhist monuments of his reign

The second year of his reign witnessed the completion of a monastery called 'Devī-vihāra',⁸³ provided with everything,⁸⁴ by queen (Devī or Mahādevī) Bhaṭṭidevā for the grace and acceptance of the masters of the Bahusūtiya sect.⁸⁵ This monastery, with a roofless maṇḍapa, stands at the north-east foot of Nāgārjunikonda on the Itikarā||abōḍu where stand also a stūpa (No. 5) and two apsidal temples.⁸⁶ Inscriptions G-2, G-3, are borne by the āyaka-khaṇḍīyas belonging to Stūpa No. 5. Perhaps Bhaṭṭidevā built the stūpa and apsidal temples, in addition to the Devī-vihāra, thereby emulating her mother. In the eleventh year Kodabalasiri consecrated to the masters of the Mahisāsaka school a monastery and a cetiya.⁸⁷ The cetiya is probably Stūpa No. 6 on the top of the hill above the monastery. The latter, which is on the Kottampalagu mound a few furlongs to the north of Nāgārjunikonda, and commands a fine view of the Kṛṣṇā, has a pillared hall or pavilion in the centre with a row of twenty cells all round. The hall is sixty-one feet square and provided with a flat wooden roof supported by thirty-six lofty marble pillars. Stūpa No. 6 has yielded a number of sculptured beams,⁸⁸ two small medallions,⁸⁹ a silver relic

in reading 'Bahuvāla'. Says he:—"In the plate G, the letter b is misformed, but the full form is seen in H, where it occurs twice and is clearly the four-cornered b" (JBORS, 1933, p. 173, n. 1). The so-called ba has no resemblance whatsoever with the four-cornered ba occurring in these inscriptions. It certainly resembles the Jaggayyapēṭa c (ASSI Vol. I, Pl. LII: t. 1. 5).

Like Puṣumāvi it is a Dravidian word and both are difficult of interpretation. 'Ehu' of the name may be Tamil Ehu 'steel', a very old Tamil word.

83. This is another instance of a religious foundation named after its founder. Here the monastery receives the latter part of the queen's name.

84. *samajātānigata*.

85. G, G2, G3.

86. Structural apsidal temples of the very early centuries A.D., are very rare in India. Barring those at Nāgārjunikonda, one has been discovered at Sāñci, two at Taxila, and one at Sārnāth.

87. Dr. Vogel reads *imam khantiyam pākāra ca* and explains *khantiya* by a resort to 'khāna pillar' (Childers, Pali-Eng. Dict. *khāna*). What is read as *ni* is certainly *ti*, for unlike the loop in *na* the loop in *ta* ends in a downward curve. The word is clearly *cetiya*. At Nāgārjunikonda *cetiya*s and *vihāra*s are found together.

88. Pls. VI, 4; VII, 1, 2, 3 and 4, VIII, 1 and 2.

89. ASR, 1929-30, Pl. 37 d and c, one is embossed with the head of a Greek male figure and the other with the head of an Indian lady. They are not king and queen as they do not wear crowns.

casket much like the one found in the *Mahācetiya* and bone relics.⁹⁰

The monuments which would seem to belong to the Ikṣvāku period, but which cannot be assigned to any reign definitely, are two *cetiya*s (Nos. 3 and 4) and a *vihāra*⁹¹ on the hill to the north-west of and near the Nāharāḷlabōḍu, the *vihāra* on the Nāharāḷlabōḍu and *Stūpa*s Nos. 5, 7, 8 and 9.

Buddhism of the period

Like the Amarāvati inscriptions the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions introduce us to a number of Buddhist schools; the *Mahisāsakas*, an offshoot of the original *Sthaviravādas*; the *Bahusutiyas*, a sub-division of the *Gokulikas* who belonged to the *Mahāsāṅghikas*, the original schismatics;⁹² the *Puvaseliyas* (offshoot of the *Mahāsāṅghikas*) who find place in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, along with *Avaraseliyas*, *Siddhathikas* and *Rājapiriyas*, are called *Andhakas*, i.e. schools that took their rise in the *Andhradeśa*,⁹³ and the *Apāramahāvīnaseliyas*, who were patronised by Cāntisiri. According to Dr. Vogel 'Avarasela' is perhaps the abbreviated form of 'Apāramahāvīnasela' of our inscriptions.⁹⁴ Since a 'Mahāvīnasela' school is mentioned in an Amarāvati inscription,⁹⁵ since we meet with 'Puvasela' and not 'Puvamahāvīnasela' in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (Inscription F.) and the Allūru inscriptions, Dr. Vogel's suggestion cannot be accepted. A fragmentary inscription from Amarāvati has 'liyānam' and before it space for four or five letters (*Mahāvīnase*?). The teacher belonging to this school is referred to as "*Mahāvīnayaśādhara*"⁹⁶ (versed in the Great Vinaya). Can *Mahāvīnasela* be a form of *Mahāvīnayasela*, the elision of *ya* being not uncommon? Like *Puvaseliya* and *Aparaseliya*, *Puva-*

90. Dr. Vogel thinks that the eastern side of the *stūpa* is the most important one. But the relic caskets from the *Mahācetiya* and *Stūpa* No. 8 were found in chambers on the north-eastern side.

91. *Vide supra*.

92. Walliser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, pp. 6 and 21.

Hsuen-Tsang found *Mahāsāṅghikas* in Tona-kle-tse-kin. Walters 'On Yuan-Chuang' O.T.F. Series, Vol. II, p. 214.

93. Edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 104. Avarasela is also mentioned by Hsuen-Tsang as a hill which stood near the capital Dhānyakatsaka (*Ibid.*).

94. *El.* Vol. XXI, M2, l. 5, M3, l. 6; Vol. XX, E. l. 5.

95. *ASSI*, Vol. I, p. 106, Pl. LX, No. 49; Mahava(vi)nasela is mentioned as a place-name in Pl. lviii No. 35, (*Ibid.*).

96. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

mahāvīnaseliya and *Apāramahavīnaseliya* schools might also have arisen. It is well to remember the remark of Rhys Davids.⁹⁷—“As the so called sects were tendencies of opinion, the number of them was constantly changing.” Dr. Vogel takes *Ayira-Haṃgha* (C1, C2) to be the name of a school. In his paper, entitled ‘Notes on the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions,’ N. Dutt contends that ‘*Ayira-Haṃghānam*’ is another form of ‘*Mahāsāṃghikānam*’.^{97a} But ‘*Aira-Utāyipebhāhinam*’ in an Amarāvati inscription,⁹⁸ ‘*Āryamahāsāṃghikānām Lokottarapādinām Madhyadesikānām paṭhena Vinayapitakasya, Mahāvastuśeḍhi*,⁹⁹ ‘*Āyirānam Puvaseḷiyānam*’ in the Allūru inscription, prove that *Ayira* (*Ārya*) is not used even with reference to sects in the sense of ‘*mahā*’ but only in the sense of ‘venerable.’ ‘*Ayira-Haṃgha*’, like ‘*Catudisa Saḡha*’ of the Nāsik and Kārlā inscriptions, would, therefore, mean the venerable *Saṃgha*.¹⁰⁰

Cāntisiri's wish that the families to which she belonged and the whole world might attain happiness in both the worlds, reminds us of the Mahāyānist who places the attainment of Bodhi knowledge and liberation from worldly miseries of all creatures, before his own.¹⁰¹ According to Huen-Tsang monks studying the ‘Great Vehicle’ lived in the Āndhradeśa, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa sculptures also show the Mahāyānist tendencies at work (worship of large Buddha figures, one of which was found in the large square chamber at the north-west end of the monastery on the mound to the north-west of the Nāhārīlaboḍu; three others were found at site No. 4).¹⁰² Where, among all the Hīnayāna schools mentioned, does Mahāyānism come in? The answer is given by Mrs. Rhys Davids:—“The extension of the Mahāyānist school was and is of a very vague and fluid kind. Those to whom it applied formed no close corporation.”¹⁰³ Mr. Rhys Davids compares the relation of the Mahāyāna to Hīnayāna schools with that of the various Roman and Greek Catholic schools to those of the early Christians.¹⁰⁴

97. ERE, q. v. *Hīnayāna*.

97a. IHQ, Vol. VII, pp. 647 ff.

98. Lüders, No. 1276; ASSI, Vol. I, p. 87, No. 45, Pl. LX.

99. *Mahāvastu*, ed. Senart, p. 2.

100. M. 15, EI, Vol. XXI, mentions (*Mahābhīkṣu Saḡha*).

101. This ideal finds expression in *Kāraṇavyūha* where Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva is represented as refusing to accept Nirvāṇa, until all creatures were in possession of the Bodhi knowledge and were freed from worldly miseries (Sāmasvāmī's ed. p. 121).

102. ASR, 1926-27.

103. *Points of controversy*, Preface, XLVI.

104. ERE, *Hīnayāna*.

Ceylon and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa

Ceylon and Ceylonese Buddhism were in touch with Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Āryadeva, a disciple of Nāgārjuna (3rd century A.D.), was a native of Ceylon, but spent the greater part of his life in India. The pot containing his relics has been found in the Guntur District.¹⁰⁵ Theris of Ceylon would seem to have lived in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley, for the apsidal temple on the Nāharāḷlabōḍu is dedicated to them. A viḥāra built by a Ceylonese Buddhist is also mentioned (*Sihala-viḥāra*, inscription F.). Probably the trade routes from the eastern ports and the Mahācetiya enshrining the 'dhātu' of the Great Teacher attracted these pilgrims to eastern Deccan.

Buddhist Canonical Books Mentioned

A point of interest is the mention of the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* sections of the *Sutta Piṭaka* and of the five *Mātukas*.¹⁰⁶ The *Mātukas* are the condensed contents especially of the philosophical parts of the Canonical books in the *Abhidhamma*. On the authority of Burnouf's translation of the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, Childers says that it means also the list of *Vinaya* precepts omitting all the explanations and other details.

Administration : Administrative Divisions

The biggest administrative division was the *rāṣṭra*, a division identical with the *Sātavāhana āhāra*. But the *rāṣṭra* division was known to the pre-Ikṣvāku period in the Āndhradeśa. The Allūru and Amārāvati inscriptions mention *raṣṭras*.¹⁰⁷ The division below the *rāṣṭra* was *pāṇa*.¹⁰⁸

105. Vide *infra*.

106. 'Dīgha-Majjhima-paṇca-Mātuka-ṭṭuka (ḍaṇḍa) vācakaṇaṃ ācariyānaṃ Aṅga-Haṃghānaṃ a(n)teṇāsikena Dīgha-Majjhima-Nikāya-dharaṇa bhaja(ḍa)nt ānāḍena' (C1, C2). *Pali-English Dict.* q. v. *mātuka*.

107. ARE, 1922-24, p. 97 and Pl. II 4-5: *Carathe Maca(pa)ḍa*: ASSI, Vol. I, No. 17, 'Tompakirathe(?) adkithane'.

According to Burgess *adkithane* may be the name of a town or may mean capital. After *adkithane* we have a lacuna with traces of four letters and after it *vatharasa*. The lacuna would then seem to have contained the name of a town.

108. The villages mentioned in the Ikṣvāku records are *Parinagāma* at which masters of the venerable *Saṃgha* are said to have resided, *Govagāma*, *Nadātūra* in *Kannākaratha*, *Mahākāṇḍurūra* and *Velagiri*.

Officials

The official titles known to us are those of *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahātalavara*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *Koṭṭhāgārika*.¹⁰⁹ A feature of the Ikṣvāku period is the bearing of two or more titles by the same person.¹¹⁰ Vāsīthīputa Kāmdasiri, Vāsīthīputa Mahā-Kāmdasiri and Vinhusiri of the Pūkiya family¹¹¹ and Vāsīthīputa Khamdacalikiremmaṇaka of the Hirañṇaka family, bore the titles of *Mahāsenāpati* and *Mahātalavara*; the son-in-law of Siri-Cāntamūla bears the titles of *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahātalavara*, and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*; perhaps this indicates a higher position than that of the other *Mahātalavaras*, which he enjoyed in virtue of his being the son-in-law of the king.

Official Titles: *Mahāsenāpati*

Vogel looks upon *Mahāsenāpati* as a nobiliary title on the score that the Sātavāhana *Mahāsenāpati* was in charge of *rāṣṭras*. It is highly improbable that high dignitaries are known in their inscriptions by their nobiliary titles only. In the Jangli Guṇḍu inscription a *Mahāsenāpati* in charge of an *āhāra* is mentioned along with a *Gāmika*, an official. A *Mahāsenāpati* with non-military duties was possible in an age of confusion of titles and duties. In all the records of the Ikṣvāku period the title *Mahāsenāpati* precedes that of *Mahātalavara* and except in one instance the wives of *Mahātalavara-Mahāsenāpati-Mahādaṇḍanāyakas* bear the title of *Mahātalavari* only.¹¹² Could this indicate that the title of *Mahāsenāpati* was superior to that of *Mahātalavara*?

109. Since *Koṭṭhāgārika* means 'storehouse', *Prākṛt Koṭṭhagārika* is best construed as 'keeper of royal stores.' See also Lüders' No. 937, *Koṭṭhagala*.

110. In the Cinna Ganjam inscription of the time Siri-Yafsa Sātakani we have *Mahātaraṇaka Mahā-g----*. The latter is perhaps the mutilated form of *Mahāsenāpatia*; in that case the combination of two or more titles in the same person is not peculiar to the Ikṣvāku period.

111. According to Vogel Mahā-Kāmdasiri of C5 is identical with Kāmdasiri the husband of Cāntisirinikā C3. He however considers the lady mentioned in C5 as a co-wife of Kāmdasiri, for while Cāntisirinikā mentions Khamda-sāgarasinaka as her son, the other lady mentions *Mahāsenāpati-Mahātalavara-Vinhusiri* as her son, and both C3 and C5 were incised on the same day. In our epigraphs 'Mahā' and 'Cula' are used to distinguish a younger from an elder person, that is when they both bear the same name, e.g., Cāntisirinikā and Cula-Cāntisirinikā (B4, C5); Damila-Kaṇha and Cula-Kaṇha (Lüders' No. 1243). On the analogy of these names Mahā-Kāmdasiri is either an elder brother, or some senior member of the Pūkiya family.

112. B2, EI, Vol. XX.

Mahātalavara

In his note on the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions Vogel says^{112a} "The curious term *Mahātalavara* which is also met with in other inscriptions of Southern India must likewise denote a high dignitary, whose exact function, however, is not clear. The second member of the compound is not a Sanskrit word, but seems to be a term borrowed from some Dravidian language." As 'maha' is a prefix denoting a higher title, 'talavara' is the term to be explained. Says Vogel: "We must leave this question to the decision of students of South Indian Languages. Can the word have any connection with Tamil *talavāy* (=a general), Tamil *talaiyāri* (=a village watchman) or Canarese *talavara*, *talavāra* (=a watchman, a beadle)?" Since Canarese *talavara* (=a watchman) very nearly corresponds to our *Talavara*, since Tamil *talaiyāri* also means watchman, *talavara* and *talaiyāri* are the words with which *Talavara* should be connected.¹¹³ The title of *Mahāsenāpati* borne by *Mahātalavaras* may also exclude Tamil *talavāy* (commander). *Talaiyāri* as Tamil form of *Talavara* or *Talavara* as a Prākṛt variation of *talaiyāri* is phonetically possible.¹¹⁴

Since *Talavaras* are mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* with eighteen *gaṇarājas*, Vogel looks upon *Talavara* as military title. But the *Subādhikā*, a commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*, shows that it was an official title.¹¹⁵ The *Mahātalavaras* would seem to have been viceroys. As has been suggested above, the office of *Mahātalavara* was a Sātavāhana one derived from the local office of *Talavara* much in the same way as the offices of *Mahābhoja* and *Mahārāṣi* were from those of *Bhoja* and *Rāṣika*.¹¹⁶

112a. *El.* Vol. XX, p. 6.

113. Tamil *talaiyārikkaṇ* (watchman's duty, *SH*, Vol. II, p. 119, n. 4) is certainly the Canarese *talavārike* (*El.* Vol. I, p. 402, n); *talapātaka* as a revenue term occurs in the Kalimpur plates of Dharmapāla (*IA*, Vol. XI, text, l. 31). See Wilson, *Glossary*—*talapada*. D. C. Sircar connects *talavara* with Tamil *talaiyāri* (*op. cit.*, p. 16).

114. Pischel, *op. cit.*, Sec. 254.

115. *Talavarah tuṣṭa-bhūpāla-pṛadatta-paṭṭa bandha vibhūṣita Rājasekhariyādh.* This passage has been quoted by Vogel himself.

116. On the evidence of the Allūra inscription we may say that during the Sātavāhana period the title of *Mahātalavara* is not found in combination with those of *Mahāsenāpati* and *Mahātalavara*. On this score even the Ramareddipalle inscription which mentions a *Mahātalavara* would also belong to the Sātavāhana period.

"...It penetrated also into Northern India, for there can be little doubt that it is identical with the mysterious word *taravara* which coupled with *mahāpratihārā* (= "a great chamberlain") is found in the legend of one of the clay sealings excavated by the late Dr. Bloch at Basārh, the site of ancient Vaiśālī. This document belongs to the Gupta period. It was suggested by Dr. Bloch that the word *tarika*, which occurs in the lists of officials in mediaeval copper-plate charters, may quite well be a corrupted form of *taravara*.^{116a} These instances show that the office of *Talavara* survived the Ikṣvāku period. The Koṇḍamūḍi plates mention a *Mahātala-para-Mahādandanāyaka*. Besides the instances cited by Vogel we have the Deo-Bāraṇār inscription of Jivitagupta II of Magadha, which mentions a *Talāvātaka*;¹¹⁷ the Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta, assigned by Kellhorn to the first half of the twelfth century A.D.,¹¹⁸ mention a *Talavargin*; and the Kaṭak plates of Mahāśivagupta mention a *Talahi(?)ta*,¹¹⁹ and in an inscription of the Kalacūri king, Rāyamurāri Sovideva (A.D. 1173), the son of the governor of Ekūr is called *Talacara Candeyanāyaka*.¹²⁰

Mahādandanāyaka

The title *Mahādandanāyaka* is unknown to the Sātavāhana period. As *danda* means 'rod' as well as 'army' (*dandanīti*=administration of justice), the title can be explained as judicial or military. Since *Mahāsenāpati* was in origin a military title *Mahādandanāyaka* would be a judicial one. All these titles were hereditary and sometimes more than one son inherited the father's titles.

Other Conclusions

The few glimpses that the Ikṣvāku records and sculptures afford into the social life of the period have been discussed in the chapter entitled 'Social, Economic and Religious Conditions', as it represents a continuity with the conditions in the Sātavāhana period and in many aspects presents no break with the past. According to Vogel seaborne trade was "no doubt also largely responsible for

116a. EI, Vol. XX, p. 7.

117. CII, Vol. III, No. 46.

118. EI, Vol. IV, p. 258, n.

119. EI, Vol. III, p. 352.

120. EI, Vol. XII, p. 335.

the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of India. The devotees of the Good Law were largely recruited from the commercial classes and it was their wealth which enabled not only the merchants themselves, but also their royal masters, to raise monuments of such magnificence as the great stūpa of Amarāvati.¹²¹ The remains of an ancient quay discovered by Longhurst on the right bank of the Kṛṣṇā near the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa plateau,¹²² and the emporiums of Kaṇṭakossyā and Allōsygne would seem to be evidence of a vast seaborne trade with Ceylon, Farther India, and the West. This trade was perhaps responsible for the gifts of crores of gold with which Sīri-Cāntamūla is credited. But the Buddhist monuments of the Ikṣvāku period were almost all of them constructed neither by merchants nor by their royal masters. All of them were, except the foundations attributed to Bodhisiri and a slab donated by Cāḍa-kapavatica, set up by royal ladies. It is then seen that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa cannot by itself prove that the flourishing Buddhism was a result of flourishing trade. It must also be noted that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa does not introduce us to such a glorious epoch of Buddhism as Amarāvati, Gummaḍidurru, Allūru and Kaṇṭakasela, for we do not find at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa such a crowd of Buddhist devotees as at Amarāvati. Evidently the rise of the Brahmanical dynasties was silently undermining Buddhism from the beginning.

Of the Ikṣvāku currency we know nothing except that the *denarii* were current. Not a single Ikṣvāku coin has been picked up. As the Sātavāhanas made large issues of lead and copper coins which are discovered in heaps in the Kṛṣṇā, Godāvari and Guntur districts even to-day, especially at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, it is possible that the Ikṣvākus did not find it necessary to issue new coins.

121. IA, 1832, p. 186.

CHAPTER VIII

KINGS OF THE BRĤATPHALĀYANA GOTRA

The material for a study of the dynasties that succeeded to the political heritage of the Sātavāhanas in the *Andhradeśa* and in the areas south of the Kṛṣṇā as far as Pālār is scanty. Of the kings of the Brĥatphalāyana¹ gotra, we have but a single copper-plate grant (the Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Mahārāja Jayavarman).

Chronology

The chronology of the period is far from being satisfactorily settled. While editing the grant just mentioned Dr. Hultzsch says²:—"The alphabet of his (Jayavarman's) inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava king Śiva-Skandavarman who issued the Mayidavōlu plates." This view has been followed generally by other writers on South Indian History. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil not only follows Dr. Hultzsch but even says that the unknown predecessor of Śiva-Skandavarman Pallava ruled between 225-250 A.D.³ A fuller knowledge of the Ikṣvāku dynasty than was possible before the discovery of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions has led Prof. Dubreuil to change his views. He now places the Ikṣvākus in the third century A.D. and shifts the early Pallavas to the fourth; but even here he maintains that Mahārāja Jayavarman and Yuvamahārāja Śiva-Skandavarman were

1. Brĥatphalāyana as a gotra name is not to be found in other records. But the phrase Brĥatphalāyana-as-gotto occurring in the Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman leaves no doubt on the point. In these plates as well as in the records of the kings who are said to have belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana and Ānanda gotras we miss the dynastic names. This recalls to our mind some of the Sātavāhana inscriptions and coins where we have metonyms derived from Vedic gotra names, but miss the dynastic name. In the total absence of their dynastic names scholars have labelled the former group of kings as 'the Brĥatphalāyanas, the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Ānandas.' It is like calling the Pallavas and the Kadambas as the Bhāradvājas and the Mānavyas respectively. We would avoid the confusion between the dynastic and gotra names if we call these kings 'kings of Brĥatphalāyana gotra,' 'kings of the Śālaṅkāyana gotra' and so on.

2. EI, Vol. VI, p. 316.

3. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 54.

contemporaries.⁴ Dr. K. R. Subramaniam has also followed Dr. Hultzsch. He would make the Ikṣvākus, Jayavarman and the Palavas contemporary powers and give them a third century date.⁵

A comparative study of the alphabet of the Konḍamudi and the Mayidavōlu plates throws some doubt over the contemporaneity postulated by Dr. Hultzsch. No doubt the alphabets of the two grants have some common characteristics. Both exhibit a cursive writing. Both have the peculiar *e* which according to Dr. Hultzsch resembles the archaic Tamil *ē*,⁶ the *ma* with a loop at the bottom, and the semicircle or triangle open at the top, replaced by a rudimentary vertical to which is attached on the left a curved stroke. Sometimes the curved stroke does not touch the vertical as in 'Yuvamahārāja,' 'bhāhadeyam' and 'vitarāma' (Mayidavōlu II. 1, 12 and 13 respectively); and in 'Mahēśvara,' 'Jayavarman' and 'anide' (Konḍamudi II. 3, 5 and 7 respectively). The *sa* consists of two curves one below the other but not connected still. Besides these common features mentioned by Dr. Hultzsch there are others like the peculiar forms of *ku*, *ke*, *ka*, *la*, and *na*.⁷ These common peculiarities are evidently to be explained by the fact that the records come from one and the same area, from adjoining taluqs in the Guntur District.⁸

4. JAHRS, Vol. V, p. 91.

The Mayidavōlu plates are written in the same alphabet as the plates of Jayavarman—*Ibid.*

5. "At the time of his (Śiva-Skandavarman's) rule, about the middle of the third century A.D., the Brhatphallāyanas ruled what was later known as the kingdom of Veṅgi (Vēṅgi) and the Ikṣvākus were in possession of the Andhra country stretching from about Śrī Śaḥma northward and extending indefinitely into Dakṣiṇa Kosala and along the coast north of the Godāvarī." *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and Andhra History*, p. 78.

While writing this chapter I got Dr. C. Sircar's monograph entitled *The Successors of the Śāteśōhanas in the Eastern Deccan*. He has also followed the old view.

6. EI, Vol. VI, p. 86.

7. It is interesting to note that the cursive *ka* which agrees with the northern Gupta form (Bühler, Tables IV, 39) occurs in the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions of the time of the Ikṣvāku king Virapurisadatta, but does not occur in the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions of his reign. It occurs in a Kārlā inscription EI Vol. XXIV, p. 282 and Pl. XVI 1, 3). The peculiar *ka* on some of the coins of Gotamiputa Śrī-Yaśa Śātakaṇi was probably developed out of this *ka*.

8. Mayidavōlu is a village near Narasaraopet, the headquarters of the taluq of that name, and Konḍamudi is a village in the Tenali taluq. It is only to be expected that alphabets vary not according to dynasties but according to localities, and in establishing any comparative system of palaeo-

By the side of these common characteristics stand out certain differences in the Mayidavōlu grant which seem to indicate a further stage of development from the Koṇḍamuḍi alphabet. Says Dr. Hultzsch: "The group *ṣa* (Koṇḍamuḍi plates ll. 5, 11 and 34) has a different shape, the vowel-mark being attached on the right, and not at the top of the letter as in the Mayidavōlu plates (ll. 18 and 24). The *ṇ* (or *ṇ*)⁹ is identical in shape with the lingual *ḍ* but the dental *ḍ* is represented by a separate character while in the Mayidavōlu plates no distinction is made between all the four letters."¹⁰ The other differences which are more important for settling the relative chronology of the two dynasties and which have not been pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch are as follows:—

(a) Whilst the Mayidavōlu *sa* consists of two equal curves, the upper curve of the Koṇḍamuḍi *sa* is bigger than the lower one and resembles the upper curve of *sa* in all other inscriptions. This fact and the peculiarity common to the Mayidavōlu *sa* and the Koṇḍamuḍi *sa* which has been noted above make it probable that the latter represents a transition to the former. Whilst the two curves of the Mayidavōlu *sa*, which are more developed than those of the Koṇḍamuḍi *sa*, end in strong hooks on the left, the curves of the latter have no such finish.

(b) The broad-backed *na* of the two grants differs from the *na* of the Hira-Haḍagalli and the Guṇapadeya grants, which has

graphy we must select territorial rather than dynastic names. The highly cursive writing of the Hira-Haḍagalli grant shows in its *ductus* a certain relationship to the Jangli Guṇḍa (in the Bellary District) inscription of Siri-Puṣṇavī, the last of the Śālavāḥśnas. The similarity between Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani's and Uṣavādāta's Nāsik and Kārī inscription is explained by the area of their location, (JRAS, 1926, p. 625). The differences between the Mayidavōlu and the Hira-Haḍagalli grants of Śiva-Skandavarmaṇa Pāḷava must be explained by the same principle. The peculiar *ma*, *sa*, *ha*, *ḷa*, *va*, and *e* are not to be found in the Hira-Haḍagalli grant. The Udayagiri cave inscription of Candragupta II of the year 82 (G. Era) is the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. The Śāṅci inscription of the same king is in the character of the southern alphabets (CII, Vol. III, p. 4). Instances of this kind can be multiplied.

9. *sa* does not occur in the Koṇḍamuḍi plates.

10. It may be argued that this greater absence of differentiation in the Mayidavōlu plates may indicate an earlier period. But differentiation does not always represent a later stage of development. The looped *ta* and *na* are later forms of the *na* with the horizontal or curved base and the *ta* with the semicircle at the bottom, and yet there is less difference (sometimes no difference) between the former than between the latter.

a strongly curved base line, the beginnings of which we see in the Gīrnār *prāśasti* of Rudradāman¹¹ and in some Kuṣāṇa inscriptions.¹² The Mayidavōlu *na* is more broad-backed than that of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates and this fact certainly points to a later period.

(c) Whilst the *e* of both the grants has a form not met with elsewhere the Mayidavōlu *e* is more cursive and ends in stronger hooks than the Koṇḍamuḍi *e*.

(d) Whilst the verticals of both the Koṇḍamuḍi and the Mayidavōlu *la* are bent to the left, they have longer tails and smaller bodies than those of some of the Amarāvati inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.D.¹³ The body is smaller in the Mayidavōlu than in the Koṇḍamuḍi grant. This development can be traced further. In the western script of the sixth and seventh centuries the body becomes smaller and the tail correspondingly longer. True in the *la* of the grant of Cārudevī¹⁴ (later than the Mayidavōlu grant) the body is more prominent than in the Mayidavōlu *la*, but even so the former registers a development over the latter in the enormous tail which is a feature of the *la* of the Eastern Cālukya and later Pallava charters.

Again the Koṇḍamuḍi *la* has not the angular or slightly curved base of the Mayidavōlu *la*.¹⁵ However the *la* in '*alonakhādakam*'¹⁶ resembles the Mayidavōlu *la* (angular base) but even here the upper vertical is not bent to the left as in Mayidavōlu and the medial *o* sign over it is an earlier form of that found in the Mayidavōlu plates.¹⁷ The vertical of the Koṇḍamuḍi *la* does not continue the curve of the body but starts from the middle of its right arm so that even careful epigraphists like Dr. Hultsch cannot distinguish between *la* and *gi*. In line 42 Dr. Hultsch reads '*tagivarena*' for '*talavarena*,' and Dr. Vogel¹⁸ thinks that the former is a mistake

11. Bühler, Tables III (vi).

12. *Ibid.*, V.

13. ASSI, I Nos. 8, 16, 32 and 44.

14. The Cārudevī grant was mistakenly called a grant of Nandivarman of the Śālikāyana gotra by Dr. Fleet in IA, Vol. V, p. 176. However, he corrected himself in Vol. IX. Since writing these lines I find that D. C. Sircar has also noticed the mistake, *vide infra*.

15. *la* with the curved base occurs in II. 13, 15 and 22 while *la* with the angular base is found in II. 2 and 6.

16. Koṇḍamuḍi line 32.

17. *Vide infra*.

18. EI, Vol. XX, p. 7, n.

of the scribe for the latter. This error arises from the rudimentary form of the Koṇḍamuḍi *la*.

(e) The curved horizontal member of the Mayidavōlu *ka* like that of the Cārudevi grant is surely later than the straight line of the Koṇḍamuḍi *ka*.

(f) The *ba* of the Koṇḍamuḍi grant with the notch in the left vertical which does not, except in a few cases, show a serif at the upper end (Il. 4, 10, 37 and 38) and is slightly open on the left at the top is less cursive than the closed *ba* of the Mayidavōlu and the Cārudevi grants. The Koṇḍamuḍi *pa* in its narrow and curved base is an obviously earlier form.

(g) The letter *ya* shows practically the same features of development from the Koṇḍamuḍi to Mayidavōlu as the letter *pa*.

(h) The vertical member of the Mayidavōlu *a* like that of the Cārudevi grant is longer than that of the Koṇḍamuḍi *a*. 'The lower end of the vertical of the former shows sometimes a bend and sometimes a reascent to the left.' The reascent is more pronounced in the Cārudevi¹⁹ than in the Mayidavōlu grant; in the later Pallava charters there is a reascent to about half the length of the vertical.²⁰ The curves at the base of the verticals of the Koṇḍamuḍi *a* are rudimentary, as those in Uṣavadāta's inscriptions from Kārlā. The upper and lower limbs of the two Pallava grants under reference are connected to the middle of the vertical by a straight line; in the Koṇḍamuḍi grant they are represented by a wavy line connected to the top of the vertical by a slanting stroke. While the vertical and left upper limb have nail heads which in the Cārudevi grant are turned into small curves attached to the top of the vertical (Il. 8 and 10), the Koṇḍamuḍi one has no such nail-head or curve. The general appearance of the Koṇḍamuḍi *a* is altogether more primitive.

(i) The medial *ā*, *i* and *o* signs of the Mayidavōlu plates show a more developed form than those of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates. While in the Koṇḍamuḍi plates the sign expressing the length of the vowel in *ā* is a short stroke attached to the middle of the vertical (Il. 6 and 9), in the Mayidavōlu plates it is a curve (line 4.) which becomes stronger in the Cārudevi plates. (Il. 6, 8, 10 and 16). Even where the strokes are attached to the top of the letter those in the

19. Il. 6, 8 and 9.

20. Bühler, Tables VII, i, xx and xxii.

Mayidavōlu plates end in better curves and have longer tails (as in the Cārudevī grant) than those of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates. In the latter the medial *i* sign is a semi-circle; in the other two it approaches the closed circle. The medial *o* sign in the Mayidavōlu (o (line 13) is a wavy line while in Koṇḍamuḍi (line 32) it is a horizontal stroke. Even where it is a horizontal line over the letter, the tail on the right is longer in the Mayidavōlu than in the Koṇḍamuḍi grant. In the Cārudevī grant it is longer still.

Scholars are agreed that the Cārudevī grant is later than the Mayidavōlu grant. The line of development is therefore from the Koṇḍamuḍi to the Mayidavōlu grant, and then on to the Cārudevī grant.²¹ Even where the Mayidavōlu alphabet does not approach the Cārudevī alphabet, it shows more developed forms than those of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates.

The Mayidavōlu plates were issued by Yuvamahārāja Śiva-Skandavarman during the reign of his father (Bappa). The palaeography of the plates makes it therefore highly probable that Jayavarman reigned at least a generation before the predecessor of Śiva-Skandavarman.

The general facts of history point to the same conclusion. It may be presumed that the find place of the Koṇḍamuḍi grant (Tenali taluq) is not far from the object of the grant.²² Then Jayavarman's sway would have extended over lands south of the Kṛṣṇā. The alphabetical peculiarities common to the Mayidavōlu²³

21. The orthography of the grants furnishes corroborative evidence. Whilst the writer of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates follows the practice of the Sātavāhana inscriptions where every double consonant is expressed by a single letter (the exceptions are 'basiśahadeyana' and 'Jayavarmana'), the writer of the Mayidavōlu plates adopts the etymological spelling in 'paṭṭika', 'datta', 'a-gotta' and 'kūrāpejji'. In the Hira-Haḍagaḷi grant the etymological spelling of the Pandit is more pronounced than in the other two. The orthography of the Cārudevī grant is in accordance with that of literary Prakṛt. Dr. Hultzsch himself remarks (EI, Vol. VIII, p. 144. n. 5) that in this respect the two grants of Śiva-Skandavarman occupy an intermediate position between the Sātavāhana inscriptions and the Cārudevī grant.

22. *supra*, p. 152.

23. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil sees in the Kūdūra and the Kūdūrahāra, according to him roughly corresponding to the modern Bāndar taluq of the Kṛṣṇā District, the capital and the kingdom respectively of Mahārāja Jayavarman. The Prof. has narrowed down too much the kingdom of Jayavarman. Scholars like Dr. Hultzsch and Kiehlhorn (EI, Vol. VI, p. 316; Vol. IV, p. 34; Vol. V, p. 123) are agreed that the Kūdūrahāra of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates is the same as the Kūdūrahāra viṣṇya of some of the Śālaṅkāyana

and the Koṇḍamūḍi grants are corroborative evidence in the same direction.²⁴

Whilst the Mayidavolu grant of Yuṣamahārāja Śiva-Skandavarman proves that the Guntur District or part of it was included in the Pallava division of Arudhāpata,²⁵ the Cārulevi grant shows that the Guntur region continued to be part of the Pallava Dominions during the reigns of Dharmamahārājādhirāja Śiva-Skandavarman and his immediate successors Skandavarman and Yuṣamahārāja Buddhavarman.²⁶

Inscriptions and the Guḍrahāra, Guḍrayāra and Guḍrāra viṣaya of the Eastern Cālukya grants. In a Kākatiya inscription on the right door-pillar of the Bhīmeśvara temple at Guḍivāḍa (593 of 1893), Guḍivāḍa is said to have belonged to the district of Guḍrāra. Dr. Hultzsch has identified Kūḍūra with Guḍivāḍa, the headquarters of the taluq of the same name in the Kṛṣṇa District. A grant of Mahārāja Nandivarman Śālaṅkāyana from the Kollair Lake in the Kaikalur taluk of the Kṛṣṇa District makes it probable that the latter was also included in the Kūḍurahāra or Guḍrahāra viṣaya of the grant. Thus the Kūḍurahāra of Jayavarman's time included besides the Bandar taluq the territory as far west as Guḍivāḍa, as far north as the Kollair Lake and as far south as the northern part of the Guntur District. Besides, in the Śālavāḥṣṭa and Śālaṅkāyana records āhāra (or hāra) and viṣaya denote a division of the kingdom, not the whole kingdom. Kūḍūra mentioned in the Koṇḍamūḍi grant is spoken of as the headquarters of the governor of the district, and as a 'viṣayapakṣavidvāra' i.e., royal headquarters in camp. According to Hemacandra (Desikōsa q.v.) it may also signify a capital. In Nāsik No. 4 (inscription of Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakanī) which the inscription under reference resembles in phraseology, a 'viṣayapakṣavidvāra' in Govadhanahāra is mentioned. The capital of Gotami-puta Siri-Sātakanī was Palthan, far away from Govadhana or Govadhanahāra.

24. Pāntūra, the village mentioned in the grant as 'bāṃhadeya,' can be identified with Pottūru in the Guntur taluq. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil identifies it with Panduru in the Bandar taluq of the Kṛṣṇa District (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 85).

25. 'Viripara' the village situated in the Arudhāpet(k)a and the object of Śiva-Skandavarman's grant is certainly the Virpāra mentioned in the Koppāram plates of Pulakeśin II (EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 258) and perhaps the modern Vipparla in the Narasaraopet taluq of the Guntur District.

26. Śiva siri-Āpūka, śiva Siri-Sātakanī, śiva Skanda Sātakanī; the prince called Kharinda-nāga in a Kanhāri inscription (ASWI, Vol. V, p. 86) is called śiva-Kharinda-nāga-siri in a Banavāsi inscription (IA, Vol. XIV, p. 331). These instances of the use of 'śiva' in the inscriptions and on the coins of the second century B.C. and second century A.D., make it highly probable that 'śiva' in the expression Śiva-Skandavarman is an honorific prefix and that therefore Śiva-Skandavarman and Skandavarman are identical. Sometimes 'śiva' enters into the composition of names, e.g., Sivamaka.

It is thus clear that the reign of Jayavarman in the same region must be placed before that of Yuvamahārāja Śiva-Skandavarman.

The rise of the dynasty

The rise of the dynasty of Mahārāja Jayavarman is shrouded in mystery. Even so, the Ikṣvāku records from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Jaggayyapēṭa make a tentative suggestion possible. The cursive writing of the Koṇḍamuḍi grant obviously places it after the Ikṣvāku inscriptions. It has been shown above that the Ikṣvākus ruled not only north and south of the Kṛṣṇā, but as far east as the delta of the Kṛṣṇā; then their dominions must have included at least a part of what was later on the kingdom of Jayavarman. The continuance of the Ikṣvāku offices of Mahātalarava and Mahādandanāyaka under Jayavarman is another link in the chain of evidence that suggests that Jayavarman or his predecessors had a large share in weakening the power of the Ikṣvākus.²⁷

As in the case of the Pallavas we are in the dark as to the founder of the dynasty. The Koṇḍamuḍi plates do not mention the father of Jayavarman even in the Pallava or Śālikāyana fashion, i.e., under the form Bappa.²⁸ But could Jayavarman have carved out a kingdom for himself out of the debris of the Ikṣvāku kingdom, built up an administrative machinery, earned the title of Mahārāja²⁹ and entered upon a career of further conquests³⁰ within the short span of ten years?³¹ Obviously Jayavarman's dynasty rose to power before Jayavarman came on the scene.

The Capital of Jayavarman

It has been shown that Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil's and Dr. Hultsch's view that Kūdūra was the capital is untenable.

27. Sircar boldly attempts to carry Jayavarman's dynasty to the second century B.C. He says:—"If weaccept the reading *Pithuḍa* in a passage in the Hāthigumphā inscription (l. 11) of Khāravela and the interpretation that King Khāravela of Kālīṅga besieged the city of Pithuḍa, it is not impossible to think that the Brhatphalāyanas were ruling at Pithuḍa=Pitundra as early as the time of Khāravela (second or first century B.C.)", op. cit. p. 38.

28. Like Pallava kings Jayavarman assumes Brahmanical gotras, has a name ending in 'varman' and does not bear a metronymic.

29. He is called a Mahārāja on the seal and a Rāja in the plates.

30. The source of this assertion is the term 'Vijayakhandāndra' (Koṇḍamuḍi l. 1).

31. The Koṇḍamuḍi plates were issued in the tenth year of his reign.

D. C. Sircar would locate it in Pityndra,³² mentioned by Ptolemy as the metropolis of the Maisōlia region.³³ But Ptolemy places it in the interior of the Maisōlia region and there is no evidence to show that Jayavarman's dominions extended beyond the modern Gudivāḍa taluq in the west. Ptolemy wrote in the middle of the second century A.D., and the Ikṣvākus of the third century A.D. had their capital in Vijayapurī. Nothing compels us to look upon Pityndra as the established capital of every dynasty that ruled over the Āndhradeśa. Under the Pallavas who would seem to have succeeded Jayavarman in the Guntur region Dhamṇakaḍa(ka) is the headquarters of the Āndhra province and the town is as old as Pityndra if not older.³⁴ Dhamṇakaḍa has equally good claims to be considered as Jayavarman's capital.³⁵

Administrative Organisation

The kingdom was mapped out into districts called *āhāras* as under the Sātavāhanas, each under an executive officer called *Vāpatan*. The Sanskrit word corresponding to *Vāpatan* is 'Vyāpṛta.' *Ṁṛta* is the past participle of *pr*; with the prefix *vyā* it means 'busied with or engaged.' *Viyapata* in the sense of 'engaged' occurs in the Edicts of Asoka.³⁶ The *Kāśikā*, a commentary (probably seventh century A.D.) on Pāṇini by Vāmana and Jayāditya, equates *Vyāpṛta* with the *Āyukta* of Pāṇini (II, 3, 40). The latter term (Pāli *ayatto*) means 'superintendent or agent.' It occurs in the Cārudevī grant and with the *ka* affix in later inscriptions.³⁷ In the Damodarpur inscription of Budhagupta (fifth century A.D.), it is said that Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* was administered by the *Āyuktaka* Saṇḍaka. *Vyāpṛta* and *Āyukta* were therefore officers in charge of districts much the same as the *amāgas* of the Sātavāhana records and the *Viṣayapatis* of later inscriptions. The office of *Vāpatan* is met with in the Koṇḍamūḍi, the Mayidavōlu and the Cārudevī grants only.³⁸

32. The Pithunḍa of the Hāthigumbhā inscription of king Khāravela.

33. *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

34. It is mentioned in two Amarāvati inscriptions of the second century B.C. (EI, Vol. XV, "Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions").

35. McCrindle (IA, XIII, p. 376) would go to the length of identifying Pityndra with Dhamṇakaḍa. But the fact that the former is placed by Ptolemy north of the Maisōles (the Kṛmā) is against such an identification.

36. Shāh. V. Kal. V. Man. V, etc.

37. EI, Vol. XI, p. 175, t. 1, 17; XII, p. 154, t. 1, 60.

38. Dr. Hultzsch corrects 'viya' of the Cārudevī grant to 'viya' and

Another, perhaps higher, dignitary in the kingdom bore the titles of *Mahātalavara* and *Mahādandanāyaka*. These titles stand out in the Ikṣvāku period as prominently as those of *Mahābhōja* and *Mahārāṭhi* in the Śātavāhana period and Jayavarman's dynasty is obviously indebted to the Ikṣvākus for these titles.

It may be puzzling that a *Mahātalavara Mahādandanāyaka*,³⁹ probably a feudatory like the Ikṣvāku *Mahātalavara* and *Mahādandanāyaka* and the Śātavāhana *Mahārāṭhi* is entrusted with the task of preparing the plates, a task ordinarily entrusted to minor officers in the Śātavāhana stone records, where also engraving does not mean the preparation of the stone, but that of the copper-plates or palm-leaves.⁴⁰ Like the *Mahāsenāpati* of Nāsik No. 3 and the *Rahasādhiyata* of the Hira-Haḍagalli plates who are said to have been entrusted with the drafting of the charter and who, as has been shown above,⁴¹ would have only supervised the drafting, the *Mahātalavara* under mention was perhaps in charge of the department for the preparation and custody of the charters. In the same grant the king is said to have drawn up the protocol (*sayam chato*) which can only mean that a *lekha* drafted it under the immediate supervision of the king, for the king is also said to have issued the order by word of mouth (*aviyena āvataṁ*).⁴²

restores 'eys(patam).' The occurrence of 'viyapata' and 'vopata' in Asokan edicts (vapat: Shah. V; and viyapata: Man V makes 'viyapataṁ' another Prakrit form of 'vopataṁ'. In the edicts 'viyapata' occurs more often than 'vapat' or 'vopata'.

39. Dr. Hultzsch who edited the Koṇḍamuḍi plates long before the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Allūru, and Rāmaredḍipalle inscriptions were discovered read 'Mahātalaṅgarena' and conjecturally translated it as 'the best of the Mahātala family.' The peculiar form of la in 'Brhatphalāyana' (l. 4) i.e., the vertical starting from the right arm of the curve leaves no doubt that the letter read as gi is to be read as la. In his edition of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions Dr. Vogel and following him other writers have merely remarked that 'Mahātalaṅgarena' is a mistake of the scribe or engraver for 'Mahātalaṅgarena'.

40. The Koṇḍamuḍi plates II 36 and 37; Nāsik Nos. 3, 4 and 5. EI, Vol. VIII.

41. Vide *supra*, pp. 83-4.

42. Following Senart who derives the word from 'kṣa' (to cut) Dr. Hultzsch translates *chato* by 'signed'. He says (EI, Vol. VI, p. 319): "The king's signature may have been affixed to the original document, which was deposited in the royal secretariat, and from which the copper-plates were copied." This leads us to the paradoxical conclusion that the operation i.e., the drafting of the charter which is not wanting in the cognate inscriptions (especially the later Śātavāhana inscriptions which the inscription

Whilst grants of villages to religious bodies or Brahmans is a feature of every reign, the similarities of Jayavarman's grant to the later Sātavāhana grants, which show the extent to which Sātavāhana administrative traditions were carried on to the period of their successors in the *Āndhradeśa*, invest it with special interest. The immunities expressly attached to the *baṃmahadeya* in Jayavarman's grant are the same as those conferred on the *bhikkhuhala* in the Sātavāhana charter.⁴³ The operations or formalities connected with the grants are in both cases verbal order, drafting, preservation of the record in the archives of the state, engraving, and delivery. The *parihāras* mentioned in and the operations connected with the Mayidavolu grant are different. More striking is the similarity in the wording.⁴⁴ Dr. Hultzsch remarks⁴⁵ " . . . the language and phraseology of the inscription (Koṇḍamuḍi) are so similar to the Nāsik inscriptions of Gautamīputra Sātakarṣi (Nos. 4 and 5) and Vāsishṭhiputra Puṣumāyi (No. 3) that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of those two Andhra kings." This statement which implies Jayavarman's indebtedness to the Sātavāhanas for his political lessons was made long before the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa remains were brought to light. It has already been shown that some of the political institutions of Jayavarman's dynasty were inherited from the Ikṣvākus. Since the Ikṣvākus took up the thread where the Sātavāhanas left it, it is not improbable that Jaya-

under reference closely resembles in phraseology) is the only stage of which there is no trace in this inscription.

43. Kārīā and Nāsik inscriptions of Gotamīputa Sīri-sātakāni and Vāsiṭhiputa sāmi Sīri-Puṣumāvi.

44. The Koṇḍamuḍi grant opens in the same manner as Nāsik No. 4 (EI, Vol. VIII). The *parihāras* are expressed by the terms *apāpasaṃ*, *anomasam*, *alonakhādakam*, *arathasamviniyogam* and *sauajātadāhārikam*. The instructions to officials are also couched in the same language: compare the Koṇḍamuḍi grant "*etamasi tam gāma Pātura baṃmahadeyam kātuna oṃpāpehi*", "*etasa easa gāmasa Pūmīrasa baṃmahadeyam kātuna parihāre vitarāma*" and "*eteḥi nam parihāreḥi pariharāḥi etam easim gāma[ni] Pāturaṃ ha(ṃ)mahadeyam kātuna etā nībhākhādāpehi*" with Kārīā No. 19 "*etasa (ta) gāma Karajake bhikkhuhala deya (oya) pāpehi*" "*etasa easa gāmasa Karajakeḥi bhikkhuhala-parihāra vitarāma*" and "*eteḥi na parihāreḥi pariharāḥi et. easa gāma Karajake bhikkhuhala-parihāre et etā nibadhāpehi*". The formalities connected with the grants are expressed in the same terms. This is all the more interesting since the formulae of immunities were variable.

45. Op. cit.

varman is indebted immediately to the Ikṣvākus. No copper-plate grant of the Ikṣvākus and the later Śātavāhanas has been found in the *Āndhradeśa* (the western cave inscriptions of Gotamīputa Śātakaṇi and Vāsithīputa Puṣumāvi are merely copies of inscriptions engraved on *paṭṭikā*, i.e., copper plates or palm leaves or cloth). It is, however, highly improbable that the former who outshone the latter in their zeal for the Brahmanical religion, and who were as tolerant of the Buddhist religion as the later Śātavāhanas, did not make grants of lands to Brahmans and Buddhists; in such a case the phraseology of the Śātavāhana grants would have been kept up by them and transmitted to their political successors.⁴⁶



46. The disappearance of the charters or *paṭṭikā*, of which the cave inscriptions of Gotamīputa Śrī-Śātakaṇi and Vāsithīputa Puṣumāvi's time are copies is to be attributed to the fact that they were written not on copper-plates but on perishable materials—cloth and palm-leaves.

CHAPTER IX

THE VAINGEYAKAS

Śālaṅkāyana—A Gotra and Not A Dynastic Name

While editing the Ellore plates of Devavarman¹ Dr. Hultsch remarked that Devavarman and his successors might be designated the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas of Veṅḡipura. He has been followed by other scholars. Says K. V. Lakshmana Rao: "The earliest of the dynasties of kings that Epigraphy has disclosed to us as having ruled at Veṅḡi in the Krishna district² is that of the Śālaṅkāyanas".³ Says D. C. Sircar: "It is therefore not quite impossible that the Bull banner of the Śālaṅkāyana kings was connected with the name of their family."⁴

Śālaṅkāyana is a gotra and not a dynastic name. The Pallava Vākāṭaka and Kadamba charters which give the *kula* and *gotra* names make the distinction between them clear. The Vaiṅḡeyaka grants also make a distinction between *kula* and *gotra* names.⁵ In all the records 'Śālaṅkāyana' occurs in the singular (Śālaṅkāyanasya, Śālaṅkāyanah). In the Sātavāhana, Pallava,⁶ and Vākāṭaka records the dynastic name is always in the plural, while the *gotra* name is in the singular;⁷ and the alphabet and phraseology of the early Pallava Sanskrit charters bear a striking resemblance to those of the charters of the kings of Śālaṅkāyana *gotra*. In the

1. EI, Vol. IX, p. 53.

2. Now West Godavari District.

3. JAHS, Vol. V, Pt. i, p. 21.

4. JI, of the Dept. of Letters, Calcutta, Vol. XXVI, p. 76: In some Sanskrit Lexicons Nandi is called Śālaṅkāyana *vide infra*.

5. 'asmat kula gotra dharmasya yajobhish-śāddhyartham.'

6. The Mayidavōlu, Hira-Hudaga||i, Cārudevi, Pīkīra, Māṅga||ur Uruvupalli, Orṅḡōḡu and Cendalūr grants.

7. In the Kadamba charters the dynastic and *gotra* names of kings are in the plural.

Sometimes 'varṇa', 'jāti' and 'kula' names occur in the singular e.g. 'Kṣaharṇāsa Nohapānasa' (Nāsik No. 10 EI, Vol. VIII, 'Kṣaharvata' is referred to as a 'varṇa' name in Nāsik No. 2); 'Ābhīrasya Bhavarasenasya',⁴ (Ābhīra is a tribal name); 'Ikṣākusa' (Nāgarjunikonda Inscriptions). But our records do not resemble these in any respect. Sometimes 'Ikṣāku(ku)asa' or 'Ikṣākunam' occurs.

records of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman, Mahārāja Simhavarman and Mahārāja Kumāraviṣṇu, the family name immediately precedes the personal name whilst the *gotra* name is separated from the latter by laudatory epithets. In the Ellore grant of Devavarman Śālaṅkāyana, Śālaṅkāyana is separated from his name by the epithet *assamedhāyājina*. It may be argued that the 'sa-*gotra*' which is added to the *gotra* names of the donors in the Vaiṅgeyaka grants themselves is not added to Śālaṅkāyana.⁸ But the remarkable similarity in the phraseology of these grants and the fact that sometimes *gotra* names occur without the suffix *sa-gotra* knocks the bottom out of this argument.⁹ It would seem that in spite of the reference to their *kula*, the kings of the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra*, like Jayavarman of the Brhatphalāyana *gotra* bore no dynastic name; they were probably upstarts without any renowned ancestors, real or eponymic.¹⁰

While editing the Kollair plates Dr. Fleet remarked that the Śālaṅkāyanas were descendants of Viśvāmitra and of lunar extraction; he added "Perhaps these are the 'Solankis' of Col. Tod, who are included in the catalogue of the thirty-six royal races, and who for a long time ruled over 'Anhilvādpattana' in Gujarāt." Elsewhere,¹¹ he speaks of Śālaṅkāyana as a *gotra* name. However, he did not refer to the *Pravṛtakāṇḍas*, nor did he emphasise the difference between Śālaṅkāyana, son of Viśvāmitra and Śālaṅkāyana.¹² Four *gotra* *ṛṣis* bear the name Śālaṅkāyana.¹³

Śālaṅkāyana not the name of a tribe

The attempts of some scholars to see in Śālaṅkāyana the name of a people, becoming subsequently the name of a dynasty also, is wasted effort. Dr. Rayachaudhuri has identified the 'Salakēnoi'

8. 'Maudgalya-sagotrasya' The Kaneru plates of Nandivarman, I.

9. 'Bhāradvāja' (The Cāruḍevī grant); 'Bhāradvāja' (The Hira-Haḍagallī grant); 'Bhāradvāja' (The Pīkīra and Cendalūr plates); *Kāśyapa* *Vīśā* *śarmasē* (EI. Vol. VIII, p. 162).

10. In the Kōmarti plates of Candavarman and the Chicabole plates of Nandaprabhāṣṭavarman (EI. Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff. and IA, Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff.) we miss the dynastic and the *gotra* names. We miss the dynastic name, in all but three Sātavāhana records.

11. IA, Vol. V, p. 175; Vol. IX, p. 101.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 102. There is a Śālaṅkāyana *gotra* which has the *pravaras* Viśvāmitra, Kātya, and Ātilla.

13. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

of Ptolemy with the 'Śālaṅkāyanas' of Veṅgi.¹⁴ D. C. Sircar accepts this identification¹⁵ and adds: "It has been noticed¹⁶ that the terms Śālaṅkāyana and Śālaṅkāyanaka (country of the Śālaṅkāyanas) are mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini. It is certain that the Śālaṅkāyanas (Greek Salakēnoi) ruled over the Veṅgi region as early as the time of Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.)." He would further consider Benagouron as a mistake for Bengaouron¹⁷ which would represent Veṅgipura. Having regard to the fact that in Ptolemy's Book the ś sound is not suppressed e.g. Gaṅgaridat (Book VII, Chapter 1, Section 81) and Perīṅkarcē (Section 89), Salakēnoi can be rendered Śalakana and not Śālaṅkāyana. The Salakēnoi are placed north of the river Mandas which is almost certainly the Mahānadi, the great river of Orissa, far north of the *Āndhradeśa* of literature. Kings of the Śālaṅkāyana gotra ruled over the heart of the *Āndhradeśa* and the suggestion of some scholars that they ruled over Kāliṅga and Magadha (!) lacks proof;¹⁸ and Ptolemy's description of the eastern part of the peninsula is not as much vitiated by errors as that of the western and southern parts. The *Śālaṅkāyanaka* of Pāṇini does not mean 'the Country of the Śālaṅkāyanas'; it is the adjectival form of *Śālaṅkāyana* which belongs to the *Rājanyādi* class. Names like Athenogouron make it highly improbable that Benagouron is a mistake for Bengaouron. Benagouron would correspond to Benānagara; and as several Beṇas are known, and the Benagouron of Ptolemy is on the banks of a river, a Benānagara is not impossible.¹⁹ The Benagouron of Ptolemy is not called a metropolis, while Veṅgipura was certainly the capital of the kings of the Śālaṅkāyana gotra.

*Śālaṅkāyana of the inscriptions has nothing to do with the bull
banner of the Vaingeyakas*

According to the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* and the *Medinikōṣa*, Śālaṅkāyana also means Nandin, the vehicle of Śiva.²⁰ It is interesting

14. *Political History of Ancient India*, (4th ed.), p. 419, n. 1.

15. *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

16. *JAHRS*, Vol. V, Pt. 1, p. 23.

17. The letters might have been transposed in copying.

18. *Vide infra*.

19. A Benākataka is known from Nāsik No. 4, EI, Vol. VIII.

20. *Mahākāśa mahābhārata, mahākāśa prastānakah dōṣh sthastu nandin-śālaṅkāyanastānḍaśeṣatālikāh* (*Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* śl. 49).

to note that the crest of the kings of the Śālaṅkāyana gotra is the bull.²¹ Since Śālaṅkāyana of our inscriptions is a gotra name, the heraldic device cannot be connected with either the gotra or the dynastic name but must be explained on other grounds. Neither the bull banner of Pallavas nor the boar banner of the Cālukyas had anything to do with their dynastic names. Jayavarman of Bhṛatphalāyana gotra was a worshipper of Mahāseṇa, and on the seal of his plates we have a representation of the trident of Śiva.²² Some coins of Wima Kadphises bear the representation of Śiva with the combined trident and battle-axe, and the legends 'Mahā-rājasa-Rājādirājasa sarvaloga Iśvarasa-Mahāśvarasa Wima-Kataphi-śasa'. On some others we have a representation of Śiva and his vehicle.²³ In the Mandasor pillar inscription of Yaśodharman there is a reference to Nandi as an emblem on Śiva's banner.²⁴ On the seals of the grants of paramamāheśvaras like Dharasena II²⁵ the Maukhari Śarvavarman, the Gaṅga Indravarmān²⁶ and the Gaṅga Devendravarman²⁷ we have a representation of the bull. The bull badge of the Vaiṅgeyakas is therefore almost certainly connected with their sectarian leanings. Once adopted by paramamāheśvaras like Devavarman it was continued by even paramabhāgavatas like the Nandivarman.²⁸

The Dynastic name adopted here is 'Vaiṅgeyaka'

Since, as has been shown, the only name occurring in the records of these kings is a gotra name, we would avoid a confusion

21. Of the five grants of these kings the seals of the Kollair and Peddavi plates are much defaced. On the seal of the Kanteru grants of Nandivarman I (No. 2 of 1924-25) and of Skandavarman a couchant bull facing left with its hump is clearly visible. (However the horns and in the latter the legs are not visible). The plates are now in the Government Museum Madras. The device on the seal of the Ellore plates was thought by Mr. Venkayya to be that of 'some quadruped, perhaps a tiger.' An examination of the seal shows the body of a bull, facing left, much the same as that on the seal of the Kanteru grant of Skandavarman. The hump is partially visible.

22. EI, Vol. VI, p. 315.

23. Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, pp. 68 ff.

24. CII, Vol. III, p. 146.

25. Ibid., p. 164.

26. IA, Vol. XIII, pp. 119-20.

27. Ibid., pp. 273 ff.

28. We may liken this to the Śaivite names borne by the paramabhāgavatas, Kumāragupta and Skandagupta and the Nandivarman referred to above.

between *gotra* and dynastic names, if we cease to call them Śālaṅkāyanas and tentatively gave them another dynastic name. Fortunately, the Allahabad *prasasti* of Samudragupta calls Hastivarman of this line a Vaingeyaka. As kings of the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra* are the earliest known ones who ruled from Veṅḡpura, their dynasty may be styled Vaingeyaka.²⁹

Origins of the Dynasty

A thick veil is drawn over the origins of the dynasty. It has, however, been shown that D. C. Sircar's theory of the existence of the dynasty as early as the time of Ptolemy, and perhaps of Pāṇini, lacks proof. The passing away of the great Sātavāhana power would have given a tremendous fillip to the disintegrating forces already at work during its decline. Whilst the southern part of the empire came under the Pallavas, the south-western parts of the empire under the Cuṭus and after them the Kadambas, the *Andhra-deśa* fell under less powerful and more short-lived dynasties. In less than four and half centuries it saw the Ikṣvākus, the kings of the Brhatphalāyana *gotra*, the Vaingeyakas, the Kandaras and the Viṣṇukunḍins, rise and fall in quick succession. Since the later kings of the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra* were in possession of Kudrāhāra which is identical with the Kūdūrahāra of Jayavarman's plates, it is certain that the former rose to power at the expense of the rulers of the Brhatphalāyana *gotra*. The general opinion of scholars is that the Vaingeyaka did not rise at the expense of the Pallava. It is argued that the starting-point of Vaingeyaka power was Veṅḡ identified with Peddavēḡi,³⁰ near Ellore in the West Godāvāri district, and therefore north of the river Kṛṣṇā. There is no evidence to show that the Pallavas ever crossed the Kṛṣṇā.³¹ Even so the Mayidavōlu plates show that Dhamñakataka (modern Dharanikota) and the Guntur and Narasaraopet taluqs were reached by the Pallava arm; as this part of the Guntur district came under the Vaingeyakas later on, it is highly probable that the latter rose to prominence at the expense of the former also.

29. We do not know whether Vaingeyaka refers to the kingdom of Veṅḡ or the city of Veṅḡ. In the same inscription some kings are known by the name of their country e.g. Daivarāstraka Kūbera and others by the name of their capital e.g. Kāñceyaka Viṣṇugopa.

30. EI, Vol. IX, p. 58.

31. All the Prākṛit and Sanskrit grants of the early Pallavas have been found south of the Kṛṣṇā, in the Guntur, Nellore and Bellary Districts.

Devavarman : He was not the first king of the line

The earliest known member of the dynasty is Devavarman.³² But the expression *bappa-bhāṭṭāraka-pādabhaktā* in his Ellore grant³³ makes it certain that his father (*bappa*) was an independent ruler, for *bhāṭṭāraka* of the Vaiṣṇeyaka and Pallava grants, like *paramabhāṭṭāraka* of the Gupta and Valabhi records, is a title applied to independent kings.³⁴ The old view that Devavarman is the first king must needs be given up and the origins of the dynasty traced to the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.

32. Like the other Vaiṣṇeyakas Devavarman has the honorific prefixes 'śrī' and 'vijaya'. Dr. Fleet (IA, Vol. V, p. 175) and Dr. Hultzsch (EI, Vol. IV, p. 143) considered 'vijaya' as an integral part of personal names. Later on Dr. Hultzsch somewhat modified his view by putting a hyphen between 'vijaya' and the name proper. (EI, Vol. IX, p. 58). Even here, he spells 'vijaya' before 'Veṅṅipurā' and 'śaṅvacchara' with small v and that before personal names with capital V. In the expressions 'vijaya śaṅvacchara,' 'vijaya vājya śaṅvacchara,' 'śrī vijaya Veṅṅipurā' which occur in the Vaiṣṇeyaka grants 'vijaya' is certainly, an honorific prefix like 'śrī' 'śrīmad' 'śiva,' 'jaya' (Bhandarkar List No. 1528) and 'deva' (Allan, Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties, Index). The Kāñcīpura of the Mayidavola and Hira-Hadagalli grants is called 'vijaya Kāñcīpura' in later records. In the Kadamba grants we have 'śrī vijaya Paddāṭṭa' and 'vijaya Vijayaṅṅipura.' True these prefixes sometimes enter into the composition of names e.g. Jayavarman and Devavarman. What makes it certain that in the Vaiṣṇeyaka charters 'vijaya' like 'śrī' is an honorific prefix, is the fact that Nandivarman II calls himself simply 'śrī-Nandivarman' in the Peddāvēḷ plates and śrī vijaya-Nandivarman in the Kollair plates.

33. This expression occurs in all the Vaiṣṇeyaka grants.

34. 'Bhāṭṭāraka' is a title applied to gods and priests (CII, Vol. III, Nos. 28 and 46 and Lüders' List, Nos. 42 and 1076). In a Nāsik inscription of Uśavādāta (EI, Vol. VIII, No. 10) 'Rājasa Kṣatrapa Nahapāna' is styled 'bhāṭṭāraka' (bhāṭṭāraker). That it was a title applied to Pallava Mahārājas is shown by the Uruvupalli grant where it is coupled with the title of Mahārāja (*bappa-bhāṭṭāraka-Mahārāja-pāda-bhaktā*). Dr. Fleet has pointed out that in the Gupta and Valabhi records 'bhāṭṭāraka' and 'paramabhāṭṭāraka' are titles applied to paramount sovereigns (op. cit., p. 17 and n. 1); that 'bhāṭṭāraka' in the expression under reference is a title applied to kings is evident from the fact that in Pallava grants of the same period (which resemble the Vaiṣṇeyaka grants in many respects) it is applied to Mahārājas.

No term is so difficult of explanation and yet occurs over all parts of India as the term 'bappa' in the expressions 'bappa-bhāṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktā' (in the Pallava, Vaiṣṇeyaka and some early Kalinga grants, EI, Vol. IV, pp. 142ff., Vol. XII, pp. 4ff., Vol. XXI, pp. 24ff.), *bappa-pādāṅga dhātātā* and 'bappa-pādāṅga-parigrhāta' (in inscriptions from Nepal and in the copper

But was the predecessor of Hastivarman

Before the Peddavēgi plates were discovered Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao considered Devavarman as the successor of Hastivarman of the posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragup²a, whom he rightly conjectured to have been a king of the Śālaṅkāyana gotra. Even with the Peddavēgi plates (No. 3 of 1924-25) before him, Mr. M. S. Sarma³⁵ considered Devavarman as the son of Hastivarman and as the elder brother of Nandivarman I. The mistaken notion that a Prākṛt grant of Nandivarman I existed in Sir Walter Elliot's facsimiles was partly responsible for this view. It was

plate grants of the Cājukya dynasty—JEBRAS, Vol. XVI, pp. 3, 4 and 5), and 'parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bappa-pādānu-dhyātā' (in the Valabhi grants). Dr. Fleet's theory (CII, Vol. III, p. 186 n.) is that since in the Valabhi grants (we may add in the Uruvupalli grant too) 'bappa' is connected with the paramount titles of Mahārāja, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramabhāṭṭāraka and Paramēśvara, since-*ajjaka*, (Pali *ajjaka*, see Pischel, *Gram. Der Pra. Spra.*, Sec. 252) in the expression '*ajjaka-pādānu-dhyātā*' applied to Dharasena IV (JEBRAS, Vol. X, p. 79 and IA, Vol. I, p. 16), is the old Prākṛt form of the modern Canarese '*ajja*' and Marāṭhi '*ajja*', 'bappa', suggests itself at once as the old Prākṛt form of the modern '*bāp*', 'father'. (We may add of the Canarese '*bappa*' 'father').

But while '*ajjaka*' is certainly a Prākṛt word, 'bappa' meaning father cannot be traced. Pālī '*bappa*' (Sāns. *bāpa*) means 'bear', since the founder of the Mewar dynasty is called 'bappa' in one inscription (Prākṛt and Sanskrit Inscriptions from Kathiawar, pp. 88-89) and '*bāpa*' in another (ibid., pp. 72, 78). '*bappa*' of our inscriptions also would seem to be the Prākṛt form of '*bāpa*'. What then is the meaning of 'bappa'? A way out of the difficulty is suggested by the personal names Bāpisiri (Bāppisiri) and Bāpaka (Bāppaka, see Pischel, *op. cit.*, sec. 305) which occur in inscriptions of the second century A.D. (Lüders' List, No. 1213 and EI, Vol. XVI, p. 235). In Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions a royal lady bears the name Bāpisirinikā. In the Hira-Haḍagalli grant a predecessor, probably the father of Pallava Śiva-Skandavarman, is called Bāppasāmi. This is a personal name for the following reasons:—in later inscriptions Bāppasvāmin is a personal name, (EI, Vol. XIX, pp. 247 and 249, Vol. XI, p. 19). Bāppisiri is the feminine form of Bāppasiri and 'siri' like 'āmin' is a suffix. In the Hira-Haḍagalli inscription itself Bappa is the name of a donor. It is then reasonable to suppose that an early member of the dynasty of the Pallavas or the Vaingeyakas, perhaps a founder, bore the name Bāppasvāmin or Bappa. His son or descendants may have referred to him in the expression '*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānu-dhyātā*'. Subsequently the practice of referring to father and the unwillingness to change an old expression might have resulted in the same expression being kept with 'bappa', however, referring to or meaning 'father'. This conjecture is made probable by the fact that in Marāṭhi '*bāp*' means 'father'.

³⁵ ARE, 1924-25, II 2.

argued "that the assignment of the kings Vijaya Devavarman, Vijaya Nandivarman and Yuvārāja Buddhavarman of the Prākṛt grants, to a period subsequent to Samudragupta whose inscription is in classical Sanskrit is not tenable." Here is indeed a weak argument for the correct view. In the Peddāvēgi plates which probably trace the descent in one line from Hastivarman to Nandivarman II, Devavarman's name is not found and therefore Devavarman must be placed either before Hastivarman or after Nandivarman II. Devavarman's inscription is in literary Prākṛt and as Dr. Hultzsch has noticed,³⁶ in one respect the language is more archaic than that of literary Prākṛt, i.e., single consonants between vowels remain unchanged. The inscriptions of Nandivarman II (the Kolair and Peddāvēgi plates) are in Sanskrit; since it is an accepted view that in official grants Sanskrit replaced Prākṛt, Devavarman cannot be placed after Nandivarman II. The palaeography of the plates under reference furnishes corroborative evidence. The general appearance of the Ellore plates is more primitive than that of the plates of Nandivarman II. The Ellore subscript *va* (t. II. 8, 9, 14) which resembles the Koṇḍamūḍi and Mayidavōlu *va*, the *tha* with the dot in the centre which, in later inscriptions, is replaced by a short stroke in the centre or a curve attached to the left, and the *sa* are prominent instances.

Date of Devavarman

Since Devavarman's inscription is dated in his regnal year (13th year) it is not easy to fix his date. The lower limit is the date of Samudragupta's southern campaign: in the Allahabad inscription Hastivarman Vahgavyaka, who came after Devavarman, figures as one of the kings of the Dakṣiṇāpatha 'captured and liberated' by that Indian Napoleon during his *digvijaya*, and all that we can say at present is that Samudragupta's *digvijaya* took place before 380 A.D.³⁷ The upper limit is arrived at thus:—The Śāta-vāhanas passed away about 200 A.D. According to the Purāṇas, the Ikṣvākus who succeeded them in the Kṛṣṇā-Guntur region, ruled for fifty-two years. A period of twenty-five years may be allowed to Jayavarman's dynasty that succeeded to the political heritage of the Ikṣvākus in parts of the Kṛṣṇā-Guntur region. It has been already shown that at least a generation separates Jayavarman from Bappasāmi, a predecessor (probably the father) of

36. EI, Vol. IX, p. 57.

37. Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, xx, xxxi, xxxii.

Pallava Śiva-Skandavarman. It has also been noted that the Śiva-Skandavarman of the Mayidavōlu grant is in all probability the Vijaya-Skandavarman of the Cārudevī grant. Calculating on the basis of the usually accepted rate of twenty-five years for a Hindu generation, we arrive at 340 as the approximate date of the Cārudevī grant.³⁸ The language, orthography and the Sanskrit verses of the Cārudevī and Ellore grants would favour the same period for both.³⁹ But the phraseology of the Ellore grant which came to be widely accepted later on (especially in the Pallava grants) favours a slightly later period for it.⁴⁰

Events of his reign

Sometime before the thirteenth year of his reign Devavarman performed the *Aśvamedha*; for he styles himself '*Asamedhavyājī*.' Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao disposes of this epithet as a vain boast that minor dynasties indulged in to emulate the Guptas; examples being the Cedis, the Vākātakas, the Kadambas, the Śālaṅkāyanas, and others. The Nāneghāt sacrificial inscription (2nd century B.C.) enumerates the numerous sacrifices performed by an early Āndhra ruler and goes into details about the *dakṣiṇas* offered. It states that a second horse-sacrifice was performed.⁴¹ The Viṣṇukunḍin king Mādhavar-

38. The date of the grant is lost.

39. Both are in literary Prākṛt. In both the etymological spelling of the Pandit is adopted. In both grants every side of the plates is numbered. Palaeographically the two grants are apart. There is on the other hand much resemblance between the archaic Telugu-Canarese script of the Vaingeyaka grants and the *grantha* script of the Pallava charters of the 4th or 5th centuries. (The few points of difference have been noted by Bühler in his *Ind. Pal.* pp. 70-71, Sec. 31). The Ellore grant is the only Prākṛt inscription where the letter *ṇ* occurs (*Veṅgi* and *Śālaṅkāyana*). In other Prākṛt inscriptions including the Cārudevī grant it is represented by the *anuvōṣa* (the letter occurs in early, mixed dialect inscriptions Lüders' *List*, Nos. 64a, 129, 130, 131, 133, etc.); and in Prākṛt *ṇ* sound is sometimes retained. (See Pischel *op. cit.*, Sec. 381, 386, etc.). This fact also favours a later date for the Ellore grant.

40. The 13th year of Devavarman would then be somewhere between 360-370 A.D. On palaeographical grounds, Dr. Burnell refers Nandivarman II to about the fourth century A.D. (*S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 14, n. 2) and Dr. Fleet quotes him approvingly (*IA*, Vol. V, p. 176). Bühler leaves the question unsettled (*Ind. Pal.*, p. 65, Sec. 29A). Since Devavarman is removed from Nandivarman II by at least four generations, the chronological arrangement proposed by Dr. Burnell cannot fit into known facts.

41. '*Aśvamedho bitīyo (pī)tho*'—II B, t. 1. 1.

man I is said to have performed eleven *Āsvamedhas*. The Vākātaka king Pravarasena is credited with the performance of four *Āsvamedhas*.⁴² The number of sacrifices mentioned makes the theory of boast untenable. The Ikṣvāku king Cāntamūla is credited with the performance of *Agnihotra*, *Agnisoma*, *Vājapeya* and *Āsvamedha*. Pallava Śiva-Skandavarman is also styled an *Assamedhayājī*. The *Āsvamedha* was performed either before a king set out on a campaign of conquest (*digvijaya*) or in celebration of conquests. It involved an assertion of power and a display of political authority. There is no reason why the king of a small kingdom should not have celebrated his conquests and asserted his authority over the various parts of his kingdom in this manner. Economically too, the *Āsvamedha* was not impossible for a petty prince. If '*Assamedhayājī*' were a mere boast, every king could have styled himself an '*Assamedhayājī*.' Among the Ikṣvākus only Cāntamūla, among the early Pallavas only Śiva-Skandavarman, and among the Vaiṣṇeyakas only Devavarman, bear this title.

Much less can this title be traced to a Gupta source. It is borrowed from the Ikṣvākus and the Pallavas. The titles applied to Samudragupta are '*Āsvamedhāparākramah*' on some coins attributed to him, and '*Āsvamedhāhartā*' in the inscriptions of his successors.⁴³

The only other event of his reign of which we have record is that in the thirteenth year of his reign, he granted 20 *niṣartanas* of land to Gaṇaśarman of the Bahhura(?)⁴⁴ gotra and house sites for the Brahman, his tenants and doorkeepers.

42. CII, Vol. III, No. 55.

43. Mr. Divakar is of opinion (ABI, Vol. VII, pp. 164-65) that, since the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta does not make mention of the *Āsvamedha* performed by him, he performed it after the Allahabad inscription was engraved.

In many cases, the Guptas seem to have been the borrowers. The earliest known inscription in which the expressions '*paramamāheśvara*' (*paramabhāgavata* is a similar expression) and '*vijayapramantsara*' occur, is that of Devavarman.

44. Dr. Hultzsch read this word as 'Ba(bhura)'. Prof. Keilhorn suggested that it might be meant for 'Bahhru'. Considering the facts that the inscription presents archaic and modern forms of some letters (compare *va* in ll. 1, 6 and 7 with *va* in ll. 8 and 14; and *bhu* in l. 9 with *bhu* in l. 10 and *bhu* in l. 18), and that the *u* sign in *ku* in the word 'Kuravaka' (Kollair plates) is not represented by a short curve attached to the right of the vertical but by a modification of the reascent of the vertical to the left, 'Bahhura.' (Sanskrit

Extent of his kingdom

Whilst it is certain that *Mahārāja Devavarman* ruled over a small territory around *Vēṅḡl*, we do not know whether *Kudrāhāra* of the later *Vaiṅgeyaka* grants was included in his kingdom or not. If Prof. Kielhorn's identification of *Kurāḷa* (Allahabad pillar inscription) with the *Kollair Lake*⁴⁵ can be accepted, the *Kollair* region (excluding modern *Ellore*) with probably *Kurāḷa* as its capital⁴⁶ was ruled over by a separate line of kings, one of whom was *Maṇṭarāja*, a contemporary of *Hastivarman*.⁴⁷

Importance of Devavarman's Grant

Devavarman's grant is the most interesting of the *Vaiṅgeyaka* grants. It is the earliest known inscription in which occur the expressions '*paramamāheśvara*' and '*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktah*,' which are of frequent occurrence in later records all over India. It is the first record in this side of India to abandon the *Sātavāhana* method of dating (by the fortnight of one of the three seasons of the year, i.e., *grihānapakṣa*, *vāsānapakṣa* and *hemantānapakṣa*) for that of dating by the month and *tithi*.⁴⁸ This method of dating is followed in the early *Kāṭṭiṅga* Sanskrit charters, in the inscriptions of the *Pallavas*, the *Guptas*, the *Vākātakas* and the *Kadambas*.⁴⁹

Bābhru, i.e., *Bābhruva* (*petra*) is the proper reading. (EI, Vol. IX, p. 50, n. 7).

45. According to Prof. Kielhorn (EI, Vol. VI, p. 3, n. 3) '*jaleśa Kuṇḍaleśa*' of the *Aihōle* inscriptions can only mean the '*Kollair Lake*' as the description of the water given in the poem would be applicable to it even at the present day and as *Kolanu* of the later inscriptions is a corruption of *Kunāla*, *Kunāla* and *Kurāḷa* of the Allahabad pillar inscription are identical, because the former is mentioned just before and the latter after *Piṭṭāpuram*. Could it be that *Kurāḷa* changed into *Kunāla* in less than three centuries much in the same way as the latter changed into *Kolanu* in inscriptions of the eleventh century?

46. In the *Chellūr* plates of the reign of the Eastern *Cālukya* *Kuṭottuṅga Cōḷa* II (S. 1056) we are told that in the midst of a great lake in the *Vēṅḡl-maṇḍala* (the *Kollair Lake*) there is a town named *Sarasipur*.

47. Allahabad pillar inscription of *Samudragupta*.

48. The Western *Ksatrapa* records are dated by the month and *tithi* of the year, but the expression '*vijayasahasvatsara*' does not occur in them.

49. The exceptions are the *Devagiri* plates of *Kadamba* *Myśasavarman* (IA, Vol. VII, p. 37), the *Dūdis* plates of *Vākātaka* *Pravarasena* (EI, Vol. III, p. 260), the *Halsi* plates of the reign of *Kadamba* *Ravivarman* (IA, Vol. VI, p. 28), the *Oṃgōḍu* plates of *Skandavarman* II (EI, Vol. XV, p. 249), the

Hastivarman

The chronological arrangement proposed above not only makes the identity of Hastivarman of the Peddavēgi plates with the Hastivarman of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta certain,⁵⁰ but also makes it probable that he was the immediate successor of Devavarman. Much cannot be made of the epithet '*samarāvāptavijayino*' applied to him, as the credit for having won many battles is taken by every prince and as similar epithets are indifferently applied even in the case of sovereigns not far removed from one another.⁵¹ But it is certain that the whirlwind campaign of Samudragupta, perhaps because of its transient nature in the south, did not interrupt the fortunes of the Vaiṅgeyakas, and Hastivarman must have resumed his normal course, when the brief disturbance of Samudragupta's inroad passed away.

Nandivarman I: A misconception about him

The son and successor of Hastivarman was Nandivarman I; in the Peddavēgi plates he is credited with many gifts. An oversight has vitiated all theories about Vaiṅgeyaka genealogy. While editing the Kollair plates of Nandivarman II Dr. Fleet remarked⁵²:— "In Sir Walter Elliot's facsimiles I have another copper plate inscription of Vijayanandivarmā and his Yuvamahārāja, whose name seems to be Vijayatūṅgavarmā or Vijayabuddhavarmā;..... the characters are, in fact, so rude and indistinct, that I doubt whether a transcription of it can be made. The language, seems to be Prākṛit or Pāli, as the first line commences '*(Sva)stī-śrīvijayanandivarmma-mahārājassa*,.....' " Subsequently⁵³ Dr. Fleet gave a transcript of the inscription and observed

Hira-Hadagalli and Mayidavolu plates of Śiva-Skandavarman I and all the Viṣṇukūṇḍin inscriptions except the Rāmacārtham plates. In these, the Śāta-vāhana method of dating is followed.

50. It is curious that in Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions of South India* (1932), Hastivarman of Veṅgi is called a Pallava Viceroy.

51. The epithets applied to Skandavarman in the Urupalli grant are applied to his son, Viravarman in the Pikira grant. Epithets like '*pratāpapaṇata vājamāṇḍalaśya*' and '*abhyarchita śakti siddhi sampannashya*' are applied to Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman's father in the former grant and to his grandfather in the latter. Instances can be multiplied.

52. *IA*, Vol. V, pp. 175-176.

53. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 101.

'Vijayabuddhavarman' is said to be a Pallava and of the Bhārattāyana or Bhāradvāja gōtra. There is, therefore, no genealogical connection between the Vijayabuddhavarman of this grant, and Vijayanandivarman of the Veṅgī grant at Vol. V, p. 175, who was of the Śālaṅkāyana gōtra.' We might add, the father of Buddhavarman is Skandavarman. This grant, now called the British Museum plates of Cāru-devī, has been edited by Dr. Hultzsch in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica*.⁵⁴ This correction has been overlooked by almost all scholars. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil identified Nandivarman of 'Elliot's unpublished Prākṛt grant' with Nandivarman of the Kollair plates! K. V. Lakshmana Rao, while repeating the mistake, placed 'Vijayanandivarman' and 'Vijayabuddhavarman' after Devavarman and before Caṇḍavarman. With the Peddavēgi plates before them the Epigraphy Department identified 'Vijayanandivarman' of 'Elliot's unpublished Prākṛt grant' with Nandivarman I of the Peddavēgi plates and made Buddhavarman the elder brother of Caṇḍavarman. If only Dr. Fleet's correction had been noted, all these mistakes could have been avoided.⁵⁵

Nandivarman of the Kanteru grant is probably Nandivarman I

While editing the Kanteru grants,⁵⁶ K. V. Lakshmana Rao identified Nandivarman of one of them⁵⁷ with Nandivarman II (known to us from the Kollair and Peddavēgi plates). He has been followed by D. C. Sircar and others. This view cannot, however, be upheld. In both the grants Nandivarman II calls himself the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman.⁵⁸ Nandivarman of the Kanteru grant is not so called. True in two grants,⁵⁹ Kadamba Mrgeśavarman is called the eldest son of Śāntivarman, and in one, as simply the son of Śāntivarman.⁶⁰ Even so, Nandivarman of the Kanteru grant is not even called the son of Caṇḍavarman; and when we consider the remarkable similarity in the phraseology of the Vaiṅgeyaka grants, this omission is all the more significant. In both

54. Vol. VIII, pp. 143 ff.

55. D. C. Sircar also has pointed out this error. (*Successors of the Śāta-vāhanas in the Eastern Deccan*, pp. 57-58).

56. JAHRS, Vol. V, Part i, pp. 22 ff.

57. No. 2 of 1924-25.

58. 'Mahārāja Caṇḍavarmanas-sūnurjyestah' Kollair plates. 'Mahārājasya Caṇḍavarmanah putro jyestah'—Peddavēgi plates.

59. IA, Vol. VI, pp. 24-25, and 27-28.

60. IA, Vol. VI, pp. 25-27.

the grants of Nandivarman II,⁶¹ a 'Mūlakura bhōjaka' is mentioned as the *ājāpti*. The Kanteru plates do not mention any *ājāpti*.⁶²

The palaeography of the plates also supports our view. In the Kanteru grant of Nandivarman the left half of the horizontal member of *ka* is looped. This feature is not to be found in any other Vaiṣṇeyaka grant. Whilst in the Peddāvēgi and Kollair plates the reascent to the left of the verticals *a*, *ka* and *ra* and the *u* sign in *lu*, *yu*, *nu* and *mu*, is up to half the length of the vertical and sometimes more, in the Kanteru plates, the reascent is much less.⁶³ This makes their attribution to Nandivarman I's time possible.⁶⁴

Extent of his kingdom

If the conclusion tentatively proposed here can stand, Kudrāhāra viṣaya was included in Nandivarman I's kingdom.⁶⁵ The extent of this province is not, however, easy of determination. In the ARE of 1924-25, Kuravaṭa (there read as Kurāvāṭa) was identified with Kurāda in the Guḍivāḍa taluq and Lakumari (there read as Lekumārī) with Lokamuḍi in the Kaikalur taluq. This would make the Kṛṣṇā the southern boundary of the kingdom. Since Kanteru, six miles north of Guntur, is the findspot of two Vaiṣṇeyaka grants, since Cittapura can be identified with Cintalapūdi in the Tenali taluq, it is highly probable that a part of the modern Guntur District was included in Kudrāhāra, as in the time of Jayavarman. What would be a conjecture is raised to a certainty by the term '*Vēṅgorāstra*' of the Māṅgalūr grant of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman issued from Daśanapura (tentatively identified with modern Darsi by Mr. Venkayya). '*Vēṅ*

61. Kollair and Peddāvēgi grants.

62. We might be in a position to discuss the question more satisfactorily if the plate containing the injunctions to officers and the date had not been missing.

63. Especially in II. 1 and 2.

64. An examination of the seal reveals five letters by the side of and above the bull (not below the bull as K. V. Lakshmana Rao thought—*JAIRS*, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 22). They appear to be *ma*, *ha* and *ra*, *na* (or *no*) and *ṛi*. Between the third and fourth letter there is space for two or three letters. However, the first three letters are bigger than the other two. According to K. V. Lakshmana Rao, there are only two letters "one of which appears to be *ra* and another *na*."

65. The inscription records the grant of 12 *śivartanas* of land in Kuravata village in the Kudrāhāra viṣaya to Svāmīcandra of the Māudgalya gotra.

gorāṣṭra is probably a scribal error for '*Veṅḡirāṣṭra*,' for in all records we have *Vengideśa* or *Vengimaṇḍalam*. *Māṅgaḷūr* may be identified with *Māṅgaḷagiri* in the Guntur taluq. Only a part of the Vaingeyaka kingdom conquered by the Pallavas could have been so named. No Pallava inscription speaks of the conquest of *Veṅḡi* and the grants of *Simhavarman*, his father *Viṣṇugopavarman*, and his grandfather *Skandavarman* (fourth and fifth centuries), have been found south of the *Kṛṣṇā*. That part of the Vaingeyaka kingdom which was conquered by the Pallavas must have lain south of the *Kṛṣṇā*.

Caṇḍavarman

Caṇḍavarman was the son and successor of *Nandivarman I*.⁶⁶ While editing the *Kōmarti*⁶⁷ plates of *Caṇḍavarman* of *Kaliṅga* (*Kalingādhipati*), Dr. Hultzsch remarked that considering the similarity in names, the expression '*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktah*' and the close resemblance between the alphabets of the two grants "the father of *Vijayanandivarman* may have been identical with the *Mahārāja Caṇḍavarman* who issued the *Kōmarti* plates. At any rate, the two *Caṇḍavarmans* must have belonged to the same period. An examination of the seal, which, according to Sir W. Elliot, is defaced, would probably show if it reads *Pitribhaktah* and if, consequently, the plates of *Vijayanandivarman* may be assigned with certainty to the same dynasty as the *Kōmarti* and *Chicacole* plates."⁶⁸ Adopting this suggestion (i.e., that the *Vaiṅgeyakas* ruled over *Kaliṅga*) *Kielhorn* classed the *Kollair* grant as a North Indian inscription.⁶⁹ D. R. Bhandarkar who has recently revised and enlarged *Kielhorn's* list has not availed himself of the fresh evidence available.⁷⁰

In fairness to Dr. Hultzsch it must be stated that he was aware that the phraseology of the *Kōmarti* plates resembles that of the copper-plates of the *Gaṅgas* of *Kaliṅga* and much more closely⁷¹ that of the *Chicacole* plates of *Nandaprabhañjanavarman*. Moreover

66. The *Pedāvēḡi* plates. '*Caṇḍa*' means 'wrathful, violent, fearful': probably here is a reference to the fearful form of *Bhairava* (*Śiva*).

67. Ganjam District.

68. *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 143.

69. *Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 886.

70. *EI*, Vols. XIX-XXI, No. 1908.

71. *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 49 ff. and Pl.

when he wrote, only one Vaiṅgeyaka grant was known. He could have however withdrawn his statement when he edited the Ellore grant of Devavarman, but did not do so. The phraseology of the Kōmarti grant is totally different from that of the Vaiṅgeyaka grants which exhibit a remarkable similarity among themselves. Caṇḍavarman of the Kōmarti plates is styled 'Kaliṅgādhipati' and issued the charter from Siṃhapura identified with the modern Sīṅgupuram between modern Chicacole and Narasannapeṭa; all the Vaiṅgeyaka grants were issued from Veṅgīpura, and in none of the six Vaiṅgeyaka kings known to us is the ruler called 'Kaliṅgādhipati'. It is not stated that Caṇḍavarman, the 'Kaliṅgādhipati', belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra* and was a devotee of 'Citrarthaśvāmī'. No conclusion can be based upon the expression '*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktah*' as it was used by various dynasties.⁷² Similarity in names (in the case of the dynasties of the eastern Deccan between the third and sixth centuries) proves nothing. Caṇḍavarman might have been as much a name common to the Vaiṅgeyaka and Kaliṅga dynasties,⁷³ as Hastivarman was to Gaṅga Vaiṅgeyaka and Kāṇḍara dynasties and as Skandavarman and Nandivarman were to the Pallava and Vaiṅgeyaka dynasties.⁷⁴

The epithet '*pratāpopanata sāmantaḥ*' applied to Caṇḍavarman in the Peddavēgi plates would seem to be conventional.

Nandivarman II

Nandivarman II is referred to as the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman;⁷⁵ the latter, then, would seem to have had two or more sons. Of the events of Nandivarman's reign nothing is known except that he granted the village of Vide(ḍe)tūrapallikā⁷⁶ in Kudrāhāra to

72. Pallava and Kaliṅga dynasties. Also *vide supra*.

73. Caṇḍa often enters into the composition of personal names. Caṇḍamahāsena (EI, Vol. XXI, p. 178), Caṇḍaketu, Caṇḍavikrama, Caṇḍasinha; Caṇḍaprabha, etc.

74. Dr. Hultzsch has not noted the difference between the alphabets of the Kollair and Kōmarti grants. The thick dots or nail-heads at the top and bottom of letters in the latter grant are not so prominent in the former. The Kōmarti *va* lacks the notch of the Vaiṅgeyaka *va*.

75. The practice of naming the grandson after the grandfather was not only prevalent among the Ikshvākus, the Guptas, the Vākāṭakas, the Pallavas and the Viṣṇukundīns but was sanctioned in books. (EI, Vol. XX, p. 6, n. 2).

76. Dr. Fleet read it as Vidēnūrapallikā. The reasons for adopting the reading given here are stated below.

157 Brahmans of various *gotras* and *carakas* living in the excellent Kuravaka *agrahāra* in the 7th year, and 10 *śivartanas* of land in Aṅuṭṭa, 10 in Muṇḍūru, 6 in Ceñceruva and 6 in Karumburāñceruva as 'devahalaṃ' to Viṣṇugrhasvāmin (God in the Viṣṇu temple), lord of the three worlds, in the tenth year.

Skandavarman

It is no easy to settle Skandavarman's place in Vainṅeyaka genealogy; those who identify Nandivarman of the Kanteru grant (No. 2 of 1924-25) with Nandivarman II consider Skandavarman of the Kanteru grant (No. 1 of 1924-25) as his brother. The sources of this assertion are the epithet 'śūnurjyeṣṭhaḥ' applied to Nandivarman II and the common findspot of the two grants. But it has been shown above that Nandivarman of No. 2 of 1924-25, is probably Nandivarman I. Since Skandavarman and Nandivarman grant lands to persons belonging to the same *gotra*, probably father and son, and since the two grants come from the same place, Skandavarman might have been a brother and successor of Nandivarman I, omitted in the genealogical list much in the same way as Devavarman in the Rāmatīrtham plates and Vikramendravarman I in the Ipūr plates set II. Palaeographically no objection can be taken to this view.⁷⁷

Contemporary Powers

The theory that the Vainṅeyakas were somehow related to the Pallavas of the early Sanskrit charters (i.e., Skandavarman, I Viravarman, Skandavarman II, Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman, Simhavarman etc.) and hence were left unmolested by the latter who were more powerful, lacks adequate proof. Similarity in the names or the bull banner (adopted by both the dynasties) cannot prove matrimonial or family ties. 'Skanda' enters into the composition of not only Vainṅeyaka and Pallava, but also Sātavāhana and Cuṭu names. Nandivarman, a name of frequent occurrence in Vainṅeyaka genealogy, occurs in Pallava genealogy only during and after the sixth century A.D. (i.e., after the Vainṅeyakas had passed away). The bull crest of both dynasties has a sectarian, not

77. Since a part of the Vainṅeyaka kingdom, probably the whole of it south of the Kṛṣṇā, would seem to come under Pallava sway during or before the time of Simhavarman (middle of the fifth century), it is probable that Skandavarman preceded Nandivarman II who has to be placed in the last quarter of the 5th century A.D.

dynastic significance.⁷⁸ Since we do not know how Samudragupta's invasion affected the Pallava, we cannot build much upon the fact of the Vaiṅgeyakas not being molested by the Pallavas. Even supposing that the latter were as strong as ever, political and geographical reasons might have prevented them from crossing the Kṛṣṇā to attack Veṅḡ. It has also been shown that during the decline of Vaiṅgeyaka power, the Pallava sliced off a part of the kingdom—i.e., the territory south of the Kṛṣṇā. This thrust must have been one of the causes of its downfall.

Kaliṅga of the same period would seem to have been ruled by powerful kings. The three kings who, on palaeographical grounds, have been assigned to this period are Capḍaverman of the Kōmarti plates, Nandaprabhañjanavarman of the Chicacole plates and Mahārāja Uṇavarman of the Bṛhatproṣṭhā grant.⁷⁹ One more Kaliṅgādhipati of the same period, who, however, would seem to have belonged to another line, is Vāsīṣṭhīputra Mahārāja Śrī-Saktivarman.⁸⁰

Section II.

GOVERNMENT, RELIGION AND SOCIAL LIFE

Administrative Units

The land-grants incidentally throw some light on the administrative system. The kingdom was divided into *viṣayas*. Whilst it is certain that the territory around the capital was not included in the *Kudrāhāra-viṣaya*, we do not know how it was called.⁸¹ It has been shown above that *āhāra*, *raṭṭha* and *viṣaya* denote the same territorial division, not more in extent than a modern district. Below the *viṣaya* was *grāma* and below that *pallikā* or *pallika-grāma* (a hamlet). No division between *viṣaya* and *grāma* is mentioned.

78. *Vide supra*.

79. *El.* Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 1 ff.

81. The Ellore and Peddavēgi grants in which the inhabitants of Elūr (modern Ellore) and Prāhūra (Paloura, Ptolemy) respectively are addressed, do not mention Kudrāhāra-viṣaya. The Kollair plates prove that the Kollair region was included in the Kudrāhāra-viṣaya.

Officers

Each 'viṣaya' was under an officer called Viṣayapati.⁸² The *Dēśādhipati* of the Peddavēgi and Kollair plates would seem to be but the same officer under another name. True, under the Eastern Cālukyas, 'deśa' denoted a kingdom of which 'viṣayas' were divisions.⁸³ However, in the Uruvupalli grant, Muṇḍarāṣṭra is also called a 'viṣaya'.⁸⁴ Like 'viṣaya' and 'rāṣṭra,' 'deśa' sometimes denotes a kingdom and sometimes a province.⁸⁵ Cannot, therefore, 'viṣaya' and 'deśa' in the same inscription denote the same territorial division? Since the Vaingeyaka kingdom would seem to have comprised only two viṣayas, a higher division than a 'viṣaya' is impossible. Other officers (but subordinate to the Viṣayapati) whose functions cannot be adequately defined are the *Ayuktakas*, *Niyuktas*, *Niyogas*, *Rājapurūṣas*, and *Vallabhas*. *Rājapurūṣas* (lit. royal agents) are probably the same as the *Sāsanaśamocārin*s of the early Pallava charters.⁸⁶ According to Hemacandra, 'Vallabha' means 'Adhṛyakṣa.' As, according to the lexicographer Jaṭādhara, 'Vallabha' is a synonym of 'Aśvarakṣa'⁸⁷ and as 'Vallabhas' are distinguished from 'Go-vallabhas', 'Vallabha' of our records may mean either 'keepers of horses' or 'keepers of cows'.

Offices Borrowed

The writing of the Peddavēgi plates as that of the Hira-Haḍagalli grant is attributed to a *Rahasyādhipatyā* (confidential minister). This title would seem to have been borrowed from the Pallavas as also *Vallabha*. The practice of making *bhojakas* (freeholders) executors of grants is also a Pallava practice.

82. C.P. No. 1 of 1924-25.

83. Their kingdom was called *Veṅgiśeṣa*; and some of their grants (IA, Vol. VIII, p. 76; Vol. XIII, pp. 213 ff.) record grants made in the Pennā-tavāḍi, Guḍrāvāra and Pūḡunavara viṣayas.

84. IA, Vol. V, pp. 50 ff., t. II, 17 and 28.

85. CH, Vol. III, p. 31, t. I, 4.

86. The *Palis* of Asoka's inscriptions (Pillar Edicts) are royal agents whom all officers are asked to obey. Sometimes the word denotes ordinary persons (subjects).

The *Vallabhas* are mentioned along with the *Rājapurūṣas* in our inscription and with the *Sāsanaśamocārin*s in the Plikka, Māṅgaḷūr and Uruvupalli grants.

87. We owe this suggestion to D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 79, n.1. Dr. Hultzsch translates *Vallabha* as 'favourite'.

'Mutuḍa' would seem to be the headman of a village. The reading and meaning of the word are not settled. Burnell read it as *Muṅyada*.⁸⁸ Dr. Fleet was of opinion that for *Muṅyada* as a common name no meaning could be found and that *Muṅyada* as a proper name was out of place.⁸⁹ Reading it as *Mutyada* he corrected it to *Amātyādi*. While editing the Ellore Prākṛt grant of Devavarman, Dr. Hultsch read it as *Maḥuḍa* and remarked:—"The plates of Vijaya-Nandi-varman seem to read, *Mamuḍa*; but the apparent *m* in the middle of this word may be in reality the obliterated *ṣ*." But *ṣ* has always a short curve attached to right end of its back (the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions and the Māṅgaḷūr and Chikkulla plates).⁹⁰ What is read as *ṣ* has no such curve. K. V. Lakshmana Rao reads it as *Mutuḍa*.⁹¹

The word which occurs in 4 out of the 5 grants can have only one reading. In the Peddavēgi, Kollair and Kaneru plates, the reascent in the *u* sign in 'ṇu' is to the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nu*, the reascent is to the right as in *bhu* or *bhā*. The letter can only be *ṇu*.⁹² That the last letter of the word is *ḍa* and not *da* is shown by No. 2 of 1924-25, where the back of *da* has a notch at the right and whilst that of *ḍa* lacks it. *Mutuḍa* being the correct reading Dr. Hultsch's reading in the Ellore grant must be abandoned in favour of *Muduḍa*, which would be the Prākṛt form of *Mutuḍa*.

Though the Prākṛt and Sanskrit forms are known, they cannot be traced in dictionaries. Even so, the meaning of the word can be ascertained. *Muṇḍa* and *Mutālik* in Hindi mean 'headman'. In Telugu, *Muṭṭha* denotes subdivisions of districts. *Muta/paṭṭa* in Malayalam denotes the office of the headman of the low caste termed *Chagon*. In the Ederu plates of Vijayāditya II, (799-843 A.D. according to Dr. Fleet's calculations) we have the expressions 'Kōṇḍeruv (ā)ḍi viṣaye va (ṇḍ)rupiṣe (y)u-nāma grāmasya Kūṣaka-pramukhān Kuṭumbinas-sarvān ittham ājñāpayati'.⁹³ These are similar to 'Ellōre Muduḍa-pamukho gāma (gāmeyakā) bhāṇitavvo.'

88. *S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 14.

89. *IA. Vol. V*, p. 176, n.

90. *Ibid.*, pp. 159 ff., and Pl.; *El. Vol. IV*, pp. 193 ff.

91. *JAHRS. Vol. V*, pt. i, p. 31.

92. In the Kollair plates the *ṭ* in the syllable *ṭu* has no loop. But both *ṭ* with the loop and *ṭ* without the loop are used (*l. II. 5, 10.*).

93. *El. Vol. V*, pp. 118 ff.

Dr. Fleet has shown⁹⁴ that 'Kūṭa' has the meaning among others 'highest, the most excellent, first' derived no doubt from its meanings of any prominence, a peak or a summit of a mountain. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 'Kūṭa' is used in the sense of chief.⁹⁵ *Kūṭaka* is a variant of *Kūṭa*.⁹⁶ It is highly probable that the *Mudūḍas* (Sanskrit *Mudḍa*) addressed in the same manner are also heads of villages.

The Citrarathasvāmi Cult

The tutelary deity of the Vaingeyakas was Citrarathasvāmi ('bhagavat Citrarathasvāmi pādānudhyātāḥ').⁹⁷ Sanskrit Lexicons give *Citraratha* as the name of the sun, the *vāhana* of Agni and some princes.^{97a} K. V. Lakshmana Rao thinks that Citrarathasvāmin is the Sun-God. While editing the Elore plates of Devavarman, Dr. Hultzsch referred to the existence of a mound "which, on a visit to Pedda-Vēgi in 1902, was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of *Citrarathasvāmin*, the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas." In the Khoh copper plate inscription of Mahārāja Śarvanātha,⁹⁸ a shrine of *Āditya* is spoken of. Ancient temples of the sun exist at Asmarka, Gwalior, Deo-Baranār and Indore. In the *Archaeological Survey of India*⁹⁹ Cunningham has noted an image of the sun at Shahpur, two feet and ten inches high, holding a lotus in each hand, with, on each side, a small standing figure, that on the right being armed with a club. That Sun-worship could have existed along with the worship of Śiva or Viṣṇu is shown by Nirmand copper-plate grant of Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Samudrasena. Here the divine *Triparāṣṭaka* is called *Mihireśvara*. According to Dr. Fleet, the occurrence of the word 'Mihira' (the Sun) as the first component of the God's name seems to indicate that in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with Śaiva rites. It is, therefore, possible that the Vaingeyakas some of whom had Śaiva and others

94. EI. Vol. VII, p. 221

95. 2. 9. 19.

96. IA. Vol. XI p. 112 and Vol. XVI n. 24

In many Eastern Cālukya grants we have 'vishva varāṇāśa Rāṣṭra-kūṭapramukhāḥ Kāṭambīna Rāṣṭra-kūṭa' and 'rāṣṭrakūṭa' is a technical title meaning chief of a district.

97. That of the Eastern Gāṅga was *Gokarnasvāmin*, i.e., Śiva.

97a. Peters, Diet. q. v.

98. CII. Vol. III No. 28.

99. Vol. XV, p. 2, Pl. xi. No. 1.

Vaiṣṇava leanings were at the same time worshippers of the Sun-God also.

But on the analogy of the compounds *Gokarnasvāmi*, (i.e., the God worshipped in Gokarna), *Śrīparvatasvāmi* (i.e., the god worshipped in Śrīparvata in the Viṣṇukunḍin inscriptions), cannot *Citrarāthasvāmi* mean the god worshipped in Citraratha? We do not know of any place called Citraratha.¹⁰⁰ Nor do the Pallava records throw any light on this question.

Religion

The sectarian leanings of different kings are different; some were *paramamāheśvaras*, others *paramabhāgavatas*. It has been shown that during the Sātavāhana rule Śaivism was in a flourishing condition. Some of the Ikṣvāku kings and their feudatories had Śaiva leanings. Jayavarman of the Brhatphalāyana gotra was a worshipper of *Maheśvara*. The earliest known king of the Vaiṣṇeyaka line is a *paramamāheśvara*. Like the early Pallava kings the later Vaiṣṇeyakas are styled *paramabhāgavatas*, i.e., worshippers of Viṣṇu. Perhaps Pallava influence is to be seen in this change.¹⁰¹

100. Citrarathā (MBH. 8, 341; V. P. 134) is the name of a river.

101. Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao is of opinion that *paramabhāgavata* need not necessarily mean 'worshipper of Viṣṇu'. He quotes Patañjali to show that followers of Śiva were also called '*Śiva bhāgavatas*'. We may add in some inscriptions '*bhagavat*' designates Śambhu (Gadhwa stone inscription of Candragupta II, CII, Vol. III). *Paramabhāgavata* of the contemporary Pallava inscriptions cannot mean 'worshipper of Bhagavat Śiva' for at least one among them would in that case have styled himself *paramamāheśvara*. What proves conclusively that *paramabhāgavata* of our inscriptions means 'a worshipper of Viṣṇu' is No. 38 in CII, Vol. III, in which Dharaṣena I and his younger brother Dronasiriha are styled *paramamāheśvaras*, while their younger brother Dhruva II is called a *paramabhāgavata*. The Poddavēgi plates of Nandivarman II (a *paramabhāgavata*) mention grant of lands to a *Viṣṇughaṣvāmin*, i.e., the god inhabiting Viṣṇugha (Viṣṇu).

CHAPTER X

THE KANDARAS

Dynastic Appellation

Kings of this dynasty of whom three are known are said to have belonged to the 'Ānanda gotra'.¹ According to Dr. Hultzsch they may be designated as 'kings of the family of the Ānanda'.² Other scholars have labelled them simply as "the Ānandas" or "the Ānanda kings of Guntur." We may once more emphasise that confusion between *gotra* and dynastic names must be avoided. The expression 'Kandara-nṛpatikula-samudbhūta',³ applied to Attivarman, a distant successor of Kandara, shows that the latter was the first king of the dynasty who gave his name to it.⁴ Hence these kings had better be styled 'the Kandaras.'

Kandara : Meaning

Dr. Fleet considered 'Kandara' a variation of Kṛṣṇa.⁵ The Prakṛt forms of Kṛṣṇa are Kanha (M; AMg; JM; S) and Kasana (M and S) and Kasina (AMg; JM). The Dravidian form is Kanna. The variations of Kṛṣṇa found in the Ratta and Yādava records are Kanhara, Kanhāra, Kandhara and Kandhāra.⁶ An argument against Dr. Fleet's view is that Kandara nowhere occurs as a variation of Kṛṣṇa. In a Rāṣṭrakūṭa record from Kyāsanūr in the Hāngal Taluq of the Dharwar District, Lionel Barnett has read 'Kandara-vallabha' and equated it with 'Kannara-vallabha' of the other Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, some of which are published in the same volume.⁷ In these records there is very little difference between

1. (a) *Ānanda-kandananda-maharṣi-ma (hā) gotra-vijayadama-sakala-ta (hā) nakiranaṣya Kandarāṣya* 155 of 1899.

(b) *Ā (na)nda-sa-gotraṣya Dāmodaravarmaṇa*—EI, Vol. XVII, p. 329, t. II. 2 and 3.

(c) *'Ānanda-maharṣivamśa-samudbhūtaṣa vājñā Attivarmanā*, IA, Vol. IX, pp. 102 and 103, t. II. 1 and 3.

2. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 328.

3. The Gōraṇṭla Plates, t. II. 2 and 3.

4. Ikṣvāku, Pallava, and Gupta are some of the kings who gave their names to their dynasties.

5. IA, Vol. IX, p. 103, n. 39 and BG, Vol. I, Part II, p. 334.

6. BG., *ibid.*, p. 526.

7. EI, Vol. XVI, p. 283.

na and nda. Considering the fact that all the records including the Kyāsanūr ones give 'Kannara-vallabha' only, what is read as 'Kandara-vallabha' is probably 'Kannara-vallabha.'

'Kanda' is a Prākṛt and 'Kandan' a Dravidian form of Skanda.⁸ 'Kanda' might have become 'Kandara' much in the same way as 'Kañha' became 'Kanhara.' A fine Śiva temple at Khajuraho erected during the tenth century is called Kandariya Mahādeo. Kings Kandara and Attivarman were worshippers of Śiva. An objection to this view is that in all the Sātavāhana, early Pallava and Kandara records, the Prākṛt form is Khamda.

In Sanskrit and Prākṛt 'Kandara' means 'cave,' 'elephant goad.' As some kings style themselves 'elephant goad to their enemies,' Sanskrit or Prākṛt 'Kandara' as a name is not improbable.

King Kandara: His Date

The founder of the dynasty was Kandara. Since the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription which speaks of Samudragupta's encounter with the Vaiṣṇeyaka Hastivarman and Kāñceyaka Viṣṇugopa, does not mention king Kandara, whose kingdom lay between the Vaiṣṇeyaka and Pallava kingdoms, it may be inferred that the Kandaras rose to power after his southern campaign. Palaeography lends support to this view.

For the determination of Kandara's date, the palaeography of the Chezarla inscription of his grandson supplies positive evidence. On the back of the slab bearing this inscription there is record of Mahendravikrama or Mahendravarman I.⁹ To all seeming the writing of the two inscriptions is almost contemporaneous. The letters exhibit close agreement even in some details; but a careful examination reveals certain developed forms in Mahendravikrama's inscription. Only one pa and a few ha-s of the record of Kandara's grandson reveal notches at the bottom while all the pa-s and ha-s of the other have notches. The more or less angular *le* with the notch at the bottom in *Mahārāja* Mahendravikrama's inscription is to be found only in a few places in the other; and in Chezarla we

8. Tam. Lexicon, S. V. Kandan.

9. In the *Mattasīlāsa Prahasana*, p. 3, the son of Sindhaviṣṇu (i.e., Mahendravarman) is referred to as Mahendravikrama. Mahendravarman II mentioned only by the Kūraṃ plates is not so known. The confusion between the Pallava Mahendravikrama of the Chezarla inscription, and the Viṣṇukūṇḍin Vikramendravarman of the Rāmatirtham plates which some scholars have made must be avoided; the Mahendravikrama of the Chezarla inscription belongs to the Bhāradvāja gotra.

find also the triangular *va* of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions and the British Museum plates of Cārudevī. We may then postulate an interval of thirty to thirty-five years between the two inscriptions. Since Mahendravarikrama's reign would fall in the first decades of the seventh century, the Chezarla inscription of king Kandara's grandson may be assigned to the third quarter and king Kandara to the first quarter of the sixth century.¹⁰

In the *Avantīśūdarīkāthā* of which we have, thanks to the efforts of Rāmakiṣṇa Kavi, a fuller text than before, it is said that the wife of *Kandareśa* (lord of Kandara) who was wounded in battle (with the Pallavas evidently) sent a number of war elephants to a Pallava King, there called a Magadha king.

Rise of the Dynasty

It is now possible to picture to ourselves the circumstances favouring the rise of the dynasty. The Pallavas who were in possession of parts of the Guntur District in the reign of Simhavarmān in the early part of the fifth century were later on hard pressed by the Kadambas in the south-west and Cōlas in the south. The bitter rivalry between the Pallavas and the Kadambas under Mayūrasarman continued long. Mṛgeśavarman, a successor of Kākusthavarmān, was 'a destroying fire to the Pallavas,'¹¹ and Ravivarman uprooted Candadāṇḍa, lord of Kāñcī. The Ajaji inscription¹² states that Kṛṣṇavarman I's armies were totally defeated in a battle with those of a Pallava king. From the fact that the early Pallava charters are issued from Palakkāḍa and Daśanapura, and from the fact that Kāñcī is mentioned only in the Candalūr inscription of Kumāraviṣṇu, scholars like Venkayya have concluded a Cōla occupation of *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam*.¹³ In the country just north of the Kṛṣṇā, the Vaiṅgeyaka power had yielded or was yielding place to the dynasty of the Viṣṇukunḍins. Kandara took advantage of this political turmoil to found a new dynasty. The Viṣṇukunḍin and the Pallava perhaps saw in the new kingdom a buffer state and so connived at the coup. But the Kandara was too near the Pallava to avoid conflicts later on.¹⁴ One wonders whether the monkey

10. It is not possible to agree with the view expressed in the ARE, 1919-20, p. 95, that "by its early type of Pallava-Grantha character alone the inscription must be referred to about the third century A.D." The Report assigns Dāmodaravarman to the fourth century A.D.

11. IA, Vol. VI, p. 25.

12. EC, Vol. XI, Dg. 16f.

13. IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 284 n.

14. *Vide supra*.

device on the banners of Kandara and of the Kadambas may be taken to prove an alliance between them.¹⁵

Kandara set about strengthening his dynasty by means of a Pallava matrimonial alliance. The Chezarla inscription of Kandara's grandson who bears the titles of '*Satsabhāmalla*' and '*(Raja) mahāmalla*',¹⁶ introduces us to his father who bears the title of '*Prthiviyuvārāja*'¹⁷ and his mother, a daughter of king Kandara of the Ananda gotra.

In the Chezarla inscription of his grandson, Kandara is said to have been lord of two provinces or kingdoms and of the best city Kandarepura. He is said to have engaged in sharp battles with the Āndhras near the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā and brought about the widowhood of many an Āndhra woman.¹⁸ His enemy was perhaps the Viṣṇukunḍin. Like the Viṣṇukunḍin Mādhavavarman II, he bears the title 'lord of the *Trikājapārvata*'¹⁹ Dr. Hultzsch's view that *Trikāṭa* (*Trisāni* of the Nāsik inscription) in Bombay and Malaya (in the western Ghāṭs), of which Mādhavavarman claims to be lord, were at a safe distance from his dominions, must, it would appear, be abandoned. Any three-peaked hill might have been called

15. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 26.

16. Appendix, II. 30, 33-4.

17. I owe the suggestion that Yuvārāja in this inscription is the genitive singular of Yuvārāt to Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. While editing the Koppāram plates of Pulakēśin II, Dr. Hultzsch wrongly considers *Prthiviyuvārājah* as in the nominative singular. As the sense of the passage requires a genitive singular, he corrects it into *Prthiviyuvārājasa*.

The reasons for calling this a Pallava inscription are the following:—The *birudas* '*Satsabhāmalla*' and '*(Raja) mahāmalla*' are essentially Pallava. Till the advent of the Eastern Cālukyas, the office of Yuvārāja or Yuvamahārāja was essentially a Pallava institution on this side of South India. In a Dharmarājaratha inscription we have similar *birudas* e.g., *Bhuvanabhājanah* and *Prthivīśātra* (EI, Vol. X, pp. 5, 6; Nos. 1, 3, 7 etc.). The practice of mentioning the *birudas* to the exclusion of personal names would also seem to be a Pallava practice. True *Prthiviyuvārāja* and *Prthivīvallebhya-Yuvārāja* are titles borne by Viṣṇuvardhana in the Koppāram and Satārā grants respectively (IA, Vol. XIX, p. 309). *Prthiviyuvārāja* is according to Dr. Hultzsch a form of *Prthiviyuvārāja* (EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 258). And *birudas* into which '*Raja*' enters are also borne by Kirtivarman I, and Mangaleśa (BG, Vol. I, ii, pp. 345-7). But the Chezarla inscription cannot be brought to the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

18. Could this mean that king Kandara did not belong to the Āndhra tribe? '*Prathitān-Prthiviyuvārājah*' applied to Kandara's son-in-law might be corrected into '*Prathitāndhra-Prthiviyuvārājah*'.

19. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 388, t.1.5.

Trikūṭaparnvata.²⁰ But the association of Malaya with it forces us to look for both in the west. A Vākāṭaka inscription^{20a} gives us the clue. Verse 18 in it records that Kuntala, Avantī, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa and Andhra were subjugated by one of the later Vākāṭakas. At that time the Viṣṇukūṇḍins were an Andhra power. Such defeats would have been repaid and these victories would have provided the Viṣṇukūṇḍins the occasion for taking over the Vākāṭaka titles and glories.

Extent of his kingdom

The extent of Kandara's kingdom is not altogether easy of determination. Dhanyakāṭaka was in possession of his son-in-law, a Pallava. Chezarla, where the inscription of Kandara's grandson (by his daughter) and of Mahendravarman I are found, is in the Narasaraopet taluq of the Guntur District. Dāmodaravarman's grant comes from the Ongole taluk²¹ and Attivarman's from the Guntur taluq. The kingdom of Kandara would, therefore, seem to have comprised at the most the Guntur, Tenali and Ongole taluqs of the Guntur District.

Dāmodaravarman: His place in the Kandara genealogy

Dāmodaravarman came after king Kandara, for the Maṭṭepād grant of the former is issued from 'Kandarapura' and the Chezarla inscription of Kandara's grandson, which refers to Kandara as 'the lord of the best of cities, Kandarapura' makes it certain that Kandara gave his name to the capital.²² As Dāmodaravarman's father is credited with many *Gosahasra* and *Hiranyagarbha mahādānas*, and as Kandara is not credited with them either in the inscription of his grandson, where he is extolled in a lengthy passage, or in the inscription of his distant successor, Attivarman, Dāmodaravarman could not have been a son of king Kandara.

His date

Since the grant of Dāmodaravarman gives us neither dates nor names and facts tending to establish definite synchronisms with

20. CII, Vol. III, p. 9 n. (Introduction).

20a. ASWL, Vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.

21. Kaṅgūra mentioned in the grant, which Dr. Hultzsch was unable to identify, may be identified with Kandulūru, six miles to the east of Maṭṭepād, the findspot of the grant.

22. Other instances of kings giving their names to their capitals are, 'Pravarapura' from which Pravarasena II's edict is addressed, Kandharapura, the city of Kṛṣṇa-Kandhara, etc. (CII, Vol. III, p. 236 and BG, I Pt. II, p. 550).

kings whose dates are known, palaeography is our only guide in the determination of his date. Dr. Hultzsch has only remarked that the alphabet is of an early southern type.²³ We can say that it resembles the alphabets of the later Vaiṅgeyaka grants and of the Pīkīra and Māṅgalūr grants of Śiṃhavarman. Since Pīkīra is said to have been included in the Muṇḍarāṣṭra which has to be sought for in the Nellore District²⁴ and since Maṭṭepād, the findspot of Dāmodaravarman's grant, is in the Ongole taluq, once part of the Nellore District, a comparison between the alphabet of the Pīkīra and Maṭṭepād grants is more apt. Striking is the resemblance between the *la*, *na*, *ya*, *ba*, *na*, *da*, and *tu* of the two grants. The close resemblance between the *ja*, *bha*, *dbha* and *li* of the Maṭṭepād and Māṅgalūr grants is also noteworthy. The thick dots or nail heads at the top of letters, especially over *ya*, a feature common to the two Pallava grants under reference, are to be found in the first few lines of the Maṭṭepād grant. The *Upadharmāya* occurs in all the grants.²⁵ It may be argued that the Maṭṭepād *śa* and *ṣa* differ from the Pīkīra ones as they have bars instead of curves. But the former are not quite unknown to the Pallava grants of the same period.²⁶ The Maṭṭepād numerical symbols for 1 and 2 are more primitive than those in the two Pallava grants, but as two symbols for one are used in the Maṭṭepād grant, and as the Māṅgalūr symbol for four is slightly different from the Pīkīra one, much reliance cannot be placed on numerical symbols; nor can archaic forms be the main factor in the determination of dates. Śaka 380 of the colophon of the Jaina work *Lokaṣiṃhāga* would seem to correspond to the twenty-second regnal year of Śiṃhavarman, king of Kāñci, mentioned in the text. According to Krishna Sastri the astronomical details given in the Oṅgōḍu grant of Śiṃhavarman II,²⁷ do not fit into this date, and Śiṃhavarman of the Jaina work must be Śiṃhavarman I; and the Pīkīra grant belongs to Śiṃhavarman II. On these pieces of evidence, Dāmodaravarman would

23. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 327.

24. Muṇḍarāṣṭra is identical with Muṇḍarāṣṭra of some Nellore inscriptions (N. 19, 31 and 121) and Kaṇḍukūra which, according to the Uruvupalli grant, was included in the Muṇḍarāṣṭra is perhaps identical with Kaṇḍukūr (IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 283, n).

25. Dr. Hultzsch has not noted the fact that in the Maṭṭepād grant as in the Pīkīra and Māṅgalūr grants, final *m* is once represented by small *m* (EI, Vol. XVII, Pl. v, t. 1. 15).

26. Māṅgalūr grant, IA, Vol. V, pp. 154 ff. Pl. v-b, l. 3; vi-a; li. 1 and 3.

27. EI, Vol. XV, pp. 246 ff.

have to be assigned to the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. But as he was not the son and immediate successor of Kandarā, he cannot be placed earlier than 550 A.D.

Dr. Hultzsch assigns Dāmodaravarman to a period earlier than that of Attivarman partly on the strength of the Prākṛt portion of the former's grant.²⁸ D. C. Sircar rejoins, Attivarman is a Dravidian form of Hastivarman through the Prākṛt form Hatthivarman.²⁹ These arguments would compel us to place Dāmodaravarman's inscription sometime before the Pallava Sanskrit charters of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., which, for reasons stated above, would be impossible. Instances of Prākṛt forms lingering in the records of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., can be cited.³⁰ The Buddhist leanings of the king can also explain this mixture of Sanskrit and Prākṛt.

Attivarman

According to D. C. Sircar, Attivarman³¹ is the father of Dāmodaravarman.³² The only source of this assertion is the expression '*Aneka-go-sahasra-aneka-hiranyagarbhodbhavodbhavasya*'³³ applied to the latter in his grant. He has rightly pointed out that

28. "It may be inferred from the Prākṛt forms used that it could not be far away in point of time from the Prākṛt plates of the early Pallava kings of the third or fourth centuries of the Christian era", ARE, 1919-20, p. 75. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 328.

29. *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta*, Vol. XXVI, p. 48.

30. According to D. C. Sircar, Dr. Hultzsch's statement that the inscriptions is partly in Prākṛt is a 'misrepresentation.' But Dr. Hultzsch correctly states the position when he says that the personal and most of the gotra names of donees are in Prākṛt and that the Prākṛt '*asāsaccharaś*' occurs in the Sanskrit portion while the Sanskrit *amśa* occurs in the Prākṛt portion. For Prākṛt forms lingering in Sanskrit records see Visnukundin records generally.

31. Dr. Hultzsch looks upon Attivarman as a Prākṛt or Dravidian form of Hastivarman. Since in Prākṛt, the initial *ha* is nowhere softened into *s*, Attivarman cannot be another form of Hatthivarman. Neither in Telugu nor in Canarese can 'Attī' meaning 'elephant' be found. That 'Attī' is sometimes a Dravidian form of 'Hasti' is made certain by the Shālinghar inscription of Parāntaka (EI, Vol. IV, pp. 221 ff.) where the Western Ganga Prthivīpati II is called Hastimalla (the name of the elephant of Indra) in the Sanskrit portion, and Attimalla in the Tamil portion. Even now 'Attī' in Tamil means 'elephant'. For names and surnames into the composition of which 'Attī' enters, see also BG. I, ii, p. 567; SI, Vol. III, No. 60, p. 121; Vol. I No. 74, p. 105; EI, Vol. XVI, p. 37; EI, Vol. VII, pp. 195, 196.

32. *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

33. T. II, 2, 3.

Dr. Hultzsch's translation of this as well as the expressions '*Aprameya-Hiranyagarbhaprasavena*'³⁴, '*Hiranyagarbhaprasūta*'³⁵, and '*Hiranyagarbhāsambhūta*'³⁶ as 'producer of many *Hiranyagarbhas*' is defective, as the past participles *prasūta* and *sambhūta* can enter into *Pañcanā Tatpuruṣa* and not *Ṣaṣṭhī Tatpuruṣa* compounds. He has correctly translated them as 'born of the *Hiranyagarbha*.' The theory underlying the performance of the *Hiranyagarbha mahādāna* is that the performer is born of the golden womb, etc.—perhaps in the same way as *Brahmā*.³⁷

But where he brings this translation to bear upon the problem of Kāndara genealogy one cannot agree with him. According to him it is not 'quite impossible' that Attivaraman who is credited with the performance of the *Hiranyagarbha* in the Gōraṇṭla plates is the father of Dāmodaravarman who is said to have been 'born of one born of the *Hiranyagarbha* and a performer of the *Gosahasra*.' He dismisses the palaeographical difficulty cheaply when he makes the gratuitous assumption that the difference in time between the Maṭṭepāḍ and Gōraṇṭla plates is so short, and that it is difficult to determine which of them is the earlier.

(a) The *grantha* alphabet of the Gōraṇṭla plates is decidedly later than that of the Maṭṭepāḍ grant, because in them the *ra*, *ka*

34. The Gōraṇṭla inscription IA, Vol. IX, p. 102, t. 1, 3.

35. Ipūr and Polamāra grants EI, Vol. XVII, pp. 334 ff., and JAHS, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 17 ff.

36. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription IA, Vol. XIX, pp. 7 ff.

37. The *Hiranyagarbha* jar is of the shape of a lotus; it is provided with a pedestal, golden stalk of lotus and a golden thread round its navel.

During the performance of the *mahādāna* the performer enters the precincts of the altar where the *Hiranyagarbha* is placed, holding the images of *Dharmarāja* and *Brahmā* in both hands, and takes five deep breaths after placing his head between his ankles. The Brahmins versed in the *Vedas* perform the *Garbhādāna*, *Puṣkaraṇa* and *Simanta* ceremonies of the *Hiranyagarbha* and later on the rites following the birth of a child. Finally the performer addresses *Vishnu* thus:—

"O, the best among gods, before I came out of my mother's womb,
Now that I am born of your womb, mine is a *diryadaha*."

Moreover, *adbhava* (adj.) which occurs in the expression '*Aneka-Hiranyagarbhoddbhavoddbhavaḥ*' is mainly used in the sense of 'birth' or 'coming from'—e.g. *Rāstrakūṭapamāodbhava*, *Sailodbhava*, etc. As has been pointed out by Sircar, '*Hiranyagarbhoddbhavoddbhavaḥ*' in the sense of 'performer of *Hiranyagarbha*' is awkward in a prose composition and the Buddhist *Dāmodaravarman* would not have performed Brahmanical rites like '*Gosahasra*' and '*Hiranyagarbha*'.

and the subscribed *u* consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length;³⁸ in the Pākira, Māṅgalūr and Uruvapalli grants and even in the Chezarla inscription of Maṅendravarman I, it is considerably shorter. In the Kailāsanātha inscriptions the reascent is to the full length of the vertical.

(b) *Ja* with the upper arm converted into a loop is on the line of development to the Kūram *ja* which exhibits the head of the modern Tamil *ja*. The Chezarla inscription has the archaic *ja*.

(c) The cursive *ha* and *pa* with the notch at the bottom occur in the *Dharmarājavaratha* inscription. The Chezarla *ha* and *pa* with modest notches are earlier.

(d) The Gōraṅṭla *a* with a hook at the end of the lower arm is like the Kailāsanātha *a* and is more developed than that of Maṅendravarman's inscriptions. But the treatment of the vertical in Kailāsanātha *a* stamps it as later than the Gōraṅṭla *a*.³⁹

(e) The hook at the right end of the body curve of the Gōraṅṭla *da* is absent in *Dharmarājavaratha*, but present in the Kailāsanātha *da*. The latter is, however, more developed than the Gōraṅṭla one.

(f) *bha* with two equal curves resembles the *Dharmarājavaratha bha*.

(g) The Kailāsanātha *na* is more cursive and developed than the Gōraṅṭla *na*.

(h) The Gōraṅṭla *na* is more cursive than the *Dharmarājavaratha na*. The development of *na* is from Siṃhavarman's inscription where it has a long stem to *Dharmarājavaratha* and Chezarla forms and then on to that of the Gōraṅṭla inscription where it is very short.

According to Bühler,⁴⁰ the Gōraṅṭla alphabet went out of use before the date of the Kūram plates of Narasiṃhavarman's grand-

38. The reascent in *r* l. 3 (*paricārena*) and in *y* in the syllable *ja* l. 6, is to the full length of the vertical.

Dr. Fleet compared the alphabet of the grant with that of the fragmentary inscription at Badāmi incised, according to his researches, by Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I during his expedition against the Cālukya Pulakeśin II. However, only the notched *pa*, *ha*, *na*, *le* and *va* exhibit any resemblance to the letters of the Gōraṅṭla plates.

39. Bühler's Tables, VII. Vol. XXIII, and IA. Vol. IX, pp. 102 ff., Plate 1; t. II. 1, 2, etc.

40. *Ind. Pal. IA*, Vol. XXXIII, App. p. 70.

son Parameśvaravarman, which exhibit letters of a much different type. It is thus seen that in many respects, the Gōraṇṭla alphabet stands between the Chezarla and Dharmarājaraṭha writing on the one hand and the Kailāśaṇḍīthe writing on the other. Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out that the majority of the epigraphs on the monolith now styled Dharmarājaraṭha resemble those of Mahendravarṇī and Śyamaṅgālam, assigned by him to Mahendravarman I⁴¹ (first quarter of the seventh century). The earliest date for Attivarman would, therefore, be the second quarter of the seventh century.

Sircar's assumption that only one prince in the line could have performed the Hiranyagarbha mahādāna enjoined by the Sacred Books on kings and wealthy men of the realm, is a gratuitous one. In the Śrīśailam plates of Virūpākṣa, Harihara, son of Bukka, is said to have performed the 16 mahādānas.⁴² In the Udayambākam grant of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya⁴³ (Ś. 1450) both Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and his father are credited with the *ṣoḍaśa mahādānas*. In the Vellaṅgudi plates of Venkaṭapati Deva Mahārāya I (Ś. 1520),⁴⁴ both Vīra-Bhūpati and his son Kṛṣṇa-Bhūpati are credited with the same. Nor can the numbering of both sides of the Maṭṭepāḍ plates attest the posteriority of Dāmodaravarman to Attivarman. The plates of Devavarman and Nandivarman are numbered in the Maṭṭepāḍ fashion, whilst those of Nandivarman II and Skandavarman are numbered by plates. Yet the latter came after the former.

It is thus seen that Attivarman's reign falls in the second and third quarters of the seventh century. Dāmodaravarman who on palaeographical grounds has to be ascribed to the middle of the sixth century could not have been a successor of Attivarman.

His Grant

Attivarman's Gōraṇṭla plates, which bear no date, record the grant of the village of Āntukkūra (according to Dr. Hultzsch probably Gani Ātukūru to the west of Bezvada) and the grant of land called 'Aṣṭāśatapatti'⁴⁵ in the village of Tānthikontha or Tānrikonra (which according to Dr. Hultzsch is the modern Tādikonḍa, ten miles to the north of Guntur and to the south of the Kṛṣṇā as

41. EI, Vol. IV, p. 152 and Vol. VI, p. 320.

42. EI, Vol. XV, p. 24.

43. EI, Vol. XIV, pp. 171-72.

44. EI, Vol. XVI, p. 298 ff.

45. 'Tānthikontha (or Tānrikonga) grāma catvordśiṇī-āṣṭāśatapatti kṣetrāḥ'; IA, Vol. IX, p. 163. It may mean 108 patti.

stated in the inscription itself)⁴⁶ to a Brahman named Kottīśarman who was versed in *R̥g*, *Yajus* and *Sāma* Vedas and the *Apastamba Sūtra*.

Most of the epithets applied to Attivarman in his grant would seem to be conventional. Such are, '*anuparata-dharma-kriyāpara*', '*śura-guru saṁśṛā-buddhiḥ*', '*sundara-sujāta-peśala-jana-paricāra*.' But epithets like '*Hiraṇyagarbhaprasava*,' '*pratāpopanata-sakala-sāmanā-maṇḍala*,' and '*saṃyak-prajā-pālanopārjita-kīrtti*' would seem to have facts behind them.

Attivarman's status

Whilst Dāmodaravarman and the Pallava kings of the period bear the title of *Mahārāja*, Attivarman is styled *Rājā*. Could this fact indicate a feudatory position? We know that a part of the Guntur district was under Pallava rule in the time of Kandra and Attivarman. But the expression *pratāpopanata-sakala-sāmanā-maṇḍala* applied to Attivarman, and the fact that Mahendrarvarman I is styled *rājā* in some inscriptions⁴⁷ and also the absence of any evidence of Pallava rule over the Guntur taluq,⁴⁸ make it highly probable that Attivarman was an independent monarch.⁴⁹

Religion and Social Life

The available grants of the Kandaras do not give us any direct insight into the administrative organisation. It may be sur-

46. Dr. Fleet read it as *Tāthikontha* and Dr. Hultzsch's reading is not as certain as it has been assumed. In the Iyūr and Chikkella plates *ra* has two cross strokes. In the Peddavēgi plates of the Eastern Cālukya Jayasinha, I, (EI, Vol. XIX, p. 261) and the Kondaṅagūru plates of Indrarvarman, (EI, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1. ff.) letters similar to that under reference occur. In the former it differs from the next letter *ra* in so far as it has not the latter's notches. The word has been read as '*Kantheruvāṭi*' which has been identified with the Kandra of the Eastern Cālukya inscriptions. In the latter grant, the subscript *ra* has assumed its modern form, and is different from the letter above, though Dr. Hultzsch read them as *ra*. No doubt in all these grants the subscript *tha* is open to the right and *tha* has a dot in the middle. Even so, in a grant of the Eastern Cālukya Viṣṇuvardhana IV or V (IA, Vol. XIII, p. 186) and perhaps in the Peddavēgi plates of Jayasinha I, *tha* with the short stroke occurs.

47. EI, Vol. VI, p. 320, t. II. 1 and 2.

48. Chenzarā where the inscription of Mahendrarvarman exists is in the Narasaraopet taluq of the Guntur District.

49. Attivarman claims to be as powerful as Mahendra (*Mahendrasamukramena*). Is there a veiled reference to Mahendravikrama or Mahendrarvarman I (EI, Vol. IV, p. 153)?

mised that the traditions of the past were continued. Pallava influence might have played its part. However, we know something about the religion of these kings and their subjects. Unlike the Pallavas with whom they were matrimonially connected and who were '*paramabhāgavatas*,' the Kandarā kings, with the exception of Dāmodaravarman, were *protégés* of Śambhu Śiva.⁵⁰ Their family deity was the God in the Vamkeśvara temple.⁵¹ Thus the Kandarās continued the Śaiva traditions of the Ikṣvākus, the kings of the Bṛhatphalāyana *gotra* and some of the Vaiṅgeyakas. If the names of donees can be relied upon as an index to the state of prevailing religions, Śaivism would seem to have had a strong hold over the Kandarā kingdom.⁵²

But Buddhism was too firmly rooted in the land of the Bhaṭṭi-prōlu, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Ghaṇṭasālā stūpas for monasteries to be completely eradicated even by four centuries of Brahmanical rule. Dāmodaravarman was a Buddhist (*Saṃyak-saṃbuddhasya-pādānudhyātāḥ*), and the Prākṛt of his grant might be an evidence of his Hinayanist leanings. In his day the toleration which the Brahmanical Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku kings had shown towards Buddhism was returned by Buddhism to Brahmanism. Like Brahmanical kings, Dāmodaravarman makes grants of lands to Brahmans.

Scattered epigraphic and literary evidence attests the lingering of Buddhism in the *Andhradeśa* for a long time after it ceased to be the dominant religion. Amarāvatī has given us not only Buddhist inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries A.D.⁵³ but also an inscription in early Telugu characters from which we learn that a Siṃhavarman, son of Nandivarman, on his return from an expedition, came to Dhānyakaṭaka and became a lay worshipper of the Buddha and made donations.⁵⁴ An inscription on the base of a pillar bearing the sculpture of a standing figure of the Buddha, in

50. *Śambhoḥ-carana-kamala-rajah-pavitrīkṛtē*, IA, Vol. IX, the Goranṭla plates.

51. The *anuvāsa* over *sa* is clear. Dr. Fleet was not sure of it (IA, Vol. IX, p. 103, n.). Only, as in other places, in the same inscription (II. 4, 6, etc.) it is not exactly over the letter, but slightly to the right of it.

52. Names like 'Ruddajja', 'Nandijja', 'Khandaajja', 'Kumārājja' and 'Devajja'.

53. ASSI, Vol. I, p. 106, No. 51 and Pl. LXI, No. 4; for an unpublished Amarāvatī inscription of the third century A.D., see Pl. III.

54. SII, Vol. I. No. 32.

Rāmaredḍipalle in the Nandigāma taluq, Kṛṣṇā District, mentions the setting up of an image of the Buddha by the śramaṇaka Rāhuḷa, the disciple of Ācārya (Mā)deva who was again the disciple of Ācārya Maudgalyāyana.⁵⁵ According to Hiuen-Tsang, though Buddhism was on the wane, there were in the Veṅgideśa twenty and odd monasteries with three thousand brethren.⁵⁶ In the kingdom of T'e-na-ka-che-ka (Dhānyakataka) there was a crowd of Buddhist monasteries but most of them deserted, about twenty being in use with one thousand brethren mostly adherents of the Mahāsāṅghika system.⁵⁷ The play entitled '*Mattavilāsa Prahasana*' shows that Buddhist *bhikkhus* and their *vihāras* and *caityas* existed in Kāñci in the seventh century, whatever might have been the demoralisation that had set in.

About the social life of the period we do not know anything except that the Brahmanical civilisation had once more gained ground. A point deserving mention here is the 'ārya' ending in the names of the donees of the Maṭṭepāḍ grant. Such name endings are found only in grants coming from the territory immediately south of the Kṛṣṇā (the Koṇḍamuḍi, the Mayidavōlu, the Hīra-Haḍagaḷli, the Kanteru (Nandivarman I) and the Maṭṭepāḍ grants. 'Ārya' (venerable) as an honorific prefix to the names of Buddhist or Jain teachers and saints occurs in inscriptions all over India. It is used as an honorific title in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela.⁵⁸ 'Ārya' as initial part of personal names occurs in a Junnar inscription⁵⁹ (Ayama) and in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription⁶⁰ (Ayakoṭusiri and Ayasiri, names of royal ladies). The celebrated disciple of Nāgārjuna, who spent a great part of his life in the *Andhradeśa*, is Āryadeva.⁶¹ But the earliest inscription to exhibit names with 'ārya' ending is the Koṇḍamuḍi grant of Jayavarman, where all donees have names ending in 'aja'. The same

55. 218 of 1926-27.

56. Watters '*On Yuan Chwang*', II, p. 210.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-215.

58. '*Ara mahārāja Khāravela*'; an Aya-Sakasathi is mentioned in a Bhattiprōlu inscription as the name of a group (*gotra*).

59. ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 103, No. 11.

60. Ins. L, EI, Vol. XXI.

61. The epigraph on a relic pot from the Guntur District, which has been ably read and interpreted by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (JOR, IX-13, 96, ff.) states that it contains the ashes of Āyamani identified by the Professor with Āryadeva.

is the case with the Mayīdavōlu and Maṭṭepād grants,⁶² 'Aja' is another form of Prakṛt 'ayya' (Sanskrit ārya).⁶³ 'Ārya' started as an honorific prefix and became a name ending much in the same way as 'siri'.⁶⁴

APPENDIX E

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1. Sṛī siddhīśvarāya
2. Kalissara sāraviraketoh sva śakti śātita
3. śātrava kari vara ghata samkata Dhanyakata rana
4. saplakoteḥ prathitān (dhra°) prthiviyuvārājāḥ ā-
5. nanda karānanda maharṣi mahāgotra viyadamala-
6. sakala tu (hi) na kirāṇasya samavagāḍhandhrasundari
7. candanānjanālakta lokāmala parimoṣaṇa pa-
8. ricaya kṛtāparādha vai (pu) lya sitetarabe (ṇā)
9. nāthasya Triakūtaparvata pate (r*) golāṅgula vija-
10. yaketanasya haṁṣika pṣtu paṭaha rava s(a)la (?)
11. ma (tya or sya) nadyogasya Kandra-puravara-janapada-
- dviṭayā-
12. dhīpateḥ Kandararājasya priyasutāyāmananitalā-
13. ntava(t)yām mahādevyām sañjātas-saiguroś-tasyāspa
- (n) dā-
14. madhi (sthe) ya guṇamadhitiṣṭhannalamkurvā (ṇaḥ)
- sujātaḥ
15. sujanamanah śravanasukhacarita-bhājano janodita
16. sakalayaśoviseṣaḥ roṣasthira vṛtta-jānu-karāḥ
17. Karibhaḥa viśasta śātrava śarira sakalamālāmanḍa-
18. na bhāvyaṁ māna pareta kaṇṭagūṇo guṇonnata virodhi
19. parajan (au) gha nivāraṇō vāraṇottamabalo balonnatasya-
20. (ma) kusumake (tu) rabalājana manah pramathana-
- paṭura-
21. . . gu . . . rabhilaṣita phalapradānakṛtamati-rahimagi-
22. ririvā . vilanghaniya mahima-gurus-salila nidhira

62. Aja of the Hira-Haḍagaḷli and Maṭṭepād grants is the etymological spelling of the Pandit: 'aja' is the cave inscription form of 'ajja'.

63. Pischel. *op. cit.*, Secs. 236 and 252.

64. It is used as a prefix in 'Rāya Simuka Sātarāhane sirimato' (Nāne-ghāt relief inscription) and as a part of names in 'Vedīsiri' 'Hakusiri' 'Balasiri' (Nāzik No. 2) 'Bodhisiri,' 'Bapisiri' etc. (Amarāvati and Nāgārjunī-konda inscriptions).

23. gādha gāmbhīrya dhairyaślāghī saḡaruḡa-muraripu-saṇā-
thaśāsanah
24. paramasamrddha pallījanapadādhīpati-rarībala-jayamatīḡ
25. sama (ra*) samaya samunnata ḡṛddhrādhyāṣita-ketanah
pratīṇ-
26. pa vanitāśrutipathā-śrotrābharana gauravavai phalya..
27. ..paśāmu..mu...ta (ra) vārināsaghoṣanassamarapaṭu-
28. paṭahara (va*) śravaṇā dvīguṇa maghaguṇa guṇa-
sāgaraska-
29.(vijaya) sajayānuraktānurāḡa gururabhiṣṭota
30. guṇavāsassekalakalā viśīrada sa(t)sabhāmallaḡ
31. (svaku)la salīla nidhī samabhivarddhana tūhinakaranara
tilaka
32. ...duṣṭanīgrahograviṣāḡhātah śiṣṭaparipālana
33. ...prasanna nṇpavara guṇatulya kāntīḡ śrīmān śrī (ra-
ṇa) mahā (mallah) sakta...ṭva (to) nvayasya pṭhujaya-
balā-
35. yurāroḡyābhīlaṣītārtha siddhaye punaratratīrtha-
36. ...rvannata samamāhimānasya...bhīla
37. ...bahūnī bahu ḡvatāyatanānī sthira
38. ...ardhātsarvapārihāra sampa...ḡrāmā
39. ...maya...ra...vṛṣabhagaṇa
40.saklasāadhanānām ḡdha
41.saha
42.pārvatīparā...ru
43.manekavi...nu
44.rājītarajata (kapālapālī)
45.ka...ḡhaṇṭākamsatāla chatra
46.ṇise...hātābhā...devopakara
47. ...sāmpredāyā manvantarāmabhirāmabhi
48. ...bhagavān parameśvarastu...
49. ...tayapratyadhīkā (ra miṣṭā)
50. ...prasannasobitām

CHAPTER XI

THE VISNUKUNDINS

The Visnukundin is the last of the many minor dynasties that ruled over the destinies of the Andhra Country since the disappearance of the Sātavāhana. Whilst writers have emphasised the fact that it was contemporary with the Pallavas in the south, the Kalinga dynasties of the fifth and the sixth centuries A.D., the Vākātakas, the Maukharis and the Guptas, they do not say that immediately south of the Visnukundin kingdom lay the Kandara kingdom. The chronological scheme adopted here makes the Kandaras the contemporaries of the Visnukundins, and the Visnukundin-Vākātaka matrimonial alliance was perhaps a political one intended as an offset to Kandara-Pallava matrimonial alliance. The fortunes of the Visnukundins were bound up with the fortunes of the dynasties of the north and their sphere of action lay in the north, especially, in Kalinga. It is with the Maukharis, the Vākātakas and kings of Kalinga, that the Visnukundins waged a series of wars that finally left them exhausted before the flood of Cālukyan invasion came upon them.

Of this dynasty we have five records. That this dynasty rose on the ruins of the Vaiṅgeyaka dynasty is made clear by the fact that the Chikkulla plates were issued from Lenduḷūra, modern Deḍalūru. Peddavēgi, the site of the capital of the Vaiṅgeyakas, is only five miles to the north of Lenduḷūra. And in both places there are ruins of a large of Śiva temples and extensive mounds. True some records were issued from other places, Ipūr II from (Ama)rapura, Ipūr I from *vijayaskandhāvāra* Kuḍāvāḍa. But as both Kuḍāvāḍa and Amarapura are called *vāsaka*, the former also was a temporary residence.

The Rāmatīrtham plates were issued from *Puranisaṅgama*, a *vāsaka*. Some scholars think that the Visnukundins were a northern dynasty. They connect Trivara from which Mādhavarman I took his wife with Tewar in the Central provinces and *Trikūṭa* with *Trisāni* and *Malaya* with the Western Ghāts. They also point to the northern wars of the Visnukundins as furnishing evidence in the same direction. Amarapura cannot be identified with distant Amroati in the Central provinces. Nor can it be identified with Amarāvati as even as late as the sixth century the

latter is known as Dhānyakāṭaka—Chezarla Inscription. No one has pitched upon Pallava wars with the Western Cālukyas and Ikṣvāku matrimonial connections with the house of Ujjain as evidence of their northern origin. Kielhorn looks upon Vinukonda as the survival of the dynastic name¹ and this looks quite probable. Viṣṇukunḍin > Viṣṇukunḍin > Vinukunḍin > Vinukonḍa. Kunḍi really means 'one who comes from the fire-pit.' But the fact that their family deity was the Śrīparvatasāmi, may go some way to prove their southern or Andhra origin. But even this piece of evidence should not be pressed too far. Viṣṇukunḍin used in the plural is, like Vākāṭaka and Ikṣvāku, a family name. Some writers look upon it as a gotra name. They say that the Vākāṭakas with whom the Viṣṇukunḍins had matrimonial connections belonged to the Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra. Viṣṇu also is a recognised gotra. But they admit that the Viṣṇukunḍin is not to be traced in the gotra and pravara kāṇḍas. Moreover we have the plural and not the singular.

It is, however, possible to build some history on the name. The kings of the line though devoted to the God at Śrīparvata (Mallikāṛjuna) would, as their family name indicates, have been worshippers of Viṣṇu, and the names borne by these kings also lends support to this view. Not one king in the line among those known till now bears a Śaivite name. One wonders if the Śrīparvatasāmi of the Viṣṇukunḍins was a Vaiṣṇavaite deity, otherwise as yet unknown, of the Śrīparvata of the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions.² Current local tradition, it may be noted, associates the hill with the Rāma cycle of stories. Mādhavarman and Govindavarman, names which occur in the lists, the latter twice, are indications of the Viṣṇu worship in the family, before, if not after, they rose to power. The first king of the line so far known is not called a Śrīparvatasāmi-pādānuḍhyāta. Did the dynasty begin a Vaiṣṇavaite revival? According to Dr. Hultzsch the seal of Ipūr I "is divided by a cross-line into

1. EI, Vol. IV, pp. 194-95; "The name Viṣṇukunḍin has not, so far as I know, been met with in other epigraphical records. Considering the locality where these plates come from, as well as the facts that the writer's vernacular was Telugu and that, the donor worshipped the lord of Śrīparvata, which I take to be the sacred Śrīśaila in the Karnūl district, I believe that the word survives in Vinukonda, the name of a hill-fort and town in the Kistna district, about 60 miles east of Śrīśaila and 50 miles south of the river Kṛishṇā, and that this Vinukonda, which is reported to be a place of great antiquity, was really the capital of the Viṣṇukunḍins."

2. See Ch. VII.

two sections. The lower bears in relief the legend *Mādhava-varma* in two lines. Above the line seems to be a figure of *Lakshmī* or a *Svastika* on a pedestal, flanked by two lamp-stands, and surmounted by the sun(?) and the crescent of the moon.³ Says Sircar:⁴ "As on the seals attached to Chikkulla and the Rāmatīrtham plates, the figure of a lion is clearly visible, it may not be impossible that the obliterated part above the line contained the figure of a lion which was possibly the crest of the Viṣṇukundins." But the symbol is not the *svastika* as the arms are not equal in length, nor is there any trace of a lion or *Lakshmī*. It is a symbol much like that found on the coins of the Cuṭus in the Anantapur District. True, the seal of the Chikkulla plates bears in relief on a slightly counter-struck surface a well-executed lion, which stands to the proper right raises the right fore-paw, opens the mouth and apparently has a double tail.⁵ The Rāmatīrtham plates seal "shows the faint figure of an advancing lion or tiger (facing the proper right), with its fore-paw raised, neck erect, mouth wide-open and the tail raised above the back, so as to end in a loop."⁶ The lion device was perhaps Buddhist in origin. The lion motif at Amarāvati is sufficient evidence.

Viṣṇukundin Genealogy

The genealogy of the dynasty was a mess before Sircar came in to point out a patent error made by Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao. Identifying Mādhavavarman of Ipūr I with the Mādhavavarmans of the Rāmatīrtham and the Chikkulla plates Hultzsch constructed the following genealogy:

Ipūr	Rāmatīrtham	Chikkulla
Govindavarman		
Mādhavavarman	Mādhavavarman	Mādhavavarman
	Vikramendra	Vikramendravarman
	Indravarma	Indrabhattarakavarman
		Vikramendravarman II

3. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 234.

4. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXVI, p. 112.

5. EI, Vol. IV, p. 194.

6. EI, Vol. XII, p. 133.

But Hultzsch went wrong in making the Mādhavavarman of Ipūr II the grandfather of Mādhavavarman of the Chikkulla plates. Accepting Hultzsch's view regarding the position Mādhavavarman of Ipūr II in Viṣṇukundin genealogy, and obsessed by the theory that Mādhavavarman of Polamūru plates whose grant is renewed by the Eastern Cālukya king Jayasīṃha I must be late in the series, and also by the theory that succession was in one line, Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao and others have built up a fantastic genealogy.



Hultzsch's genealogy is vitiated by one mistake. When he stopped with Ipūr I his genealogy was correct. When he came to Ipūr II he was confronted by the palaeographical difficulty. "The inscription records the grant of a village, the name of which is doubtful, by Mādhavavarman (II). . . . His father was Devavarman (I.5), and his grandfather the Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (I). . . . As the alphabet of this inscription seems to be of an earlier type than that of the preceding one, and as grandsons are frequently named after their grandfather, I consider it not impossible that Mādhavavarman II was the grandfather of Govindavarman's son Mādhavavarman, who would then have to be designated Mādhavavarman III."¹ Hultzsch's theory has been exploded by the Polamūru grant which mentions a Vikramahendra and not Mādhavavarman as the grandfather of Mādhavavarman and father of Govindavarman. As

1. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 238.

Sircar has pointed out, Hultzsch and others have made three Mādhavavarman out of two. Mādhavavarman of the Chikkulla, Rāmatirtham and Ipūr I and Polamūru plates is one Mādhavavarman. In the Ipūr I plates he is called 'Trivaranagara-bhavana-gatagurati-hṛdaya-nandanah,' 'agniṣṭoma sahasra-yājī,' and 'Hiranyagarbhaprasūtah,' and in the Polamūru plates 'Trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-gurati-jana-viharaṇa-ratīḥ,' 'kratu-sahasra-yājī' and 'Hiranyagarbhaprasūtah.' In both he is also called 'ekādaś-Āśvamedhābhṛta-snāna-vigata-jagad-enakṣah' (Polamūru) and 'ekādaś-Āśvamedhābhṛta-vidhūta-jagatkalmaṣah' (Ipūr I). So the Mādhavavarman of the Polamūru plates is identical with the Mādhavavarman of Ipūr I. Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatirtham and Chikkulla and Ipūr I plates is identical, as Hultzsch himself had admitted.⁸ If Mādhavavarman, father of Devavarman of Ipūr II, is Mādhavavarman Janāśraya, son of Govindavarman, the genealogy falls in to the following mould :



Vikramendravarman I would seem to have had another son as Indrabhattāarakavarman is called the eldest son of the former. Mañcyannabhattachāraka, associated with his father Mādhavavarman as *ājñā* of Ipūr I, dated in the 37th year of Mādhavavarman, would seem to have been the eldest son of the latter.

It now behoves us to remove the palaeographical difficulty. It is highly improbable that that Mādhavavarman issued the Ipūr II plates as king. In the plates he is not called a *Mahārāja* or *Rāja*.⁹

8. EI, XVII, p. 335. *Contra ibid.*, p. 338. See also Sircar *op. cit.* pp. 84-8.

9. In the Chikkulla plates Indrabhattāarakavarman is called *Mahārāja* and in the Rāmatirtham plates *Rāja*.

In all the other plates of the Viṣṇukunḍins the reigning king is called *Rāja* or *Mahārāja*. In *Ipūr II* Devavarman, the father of Mādhavavarman, is also not known by regal titles. True, in our records the predecessors of the reigning king are sometimes mentioned without regal titles.¹⁰ Devavarman is also known as one who displayed matchless and well-known valour in attacking warriors.¹¹ It is therefore probable that he fell in battle in one of the ceaseless wars waged by his father. *Ipūr II* was issued at the command of Viṣṇukunḍa (*ś*) *yadhirāja*.¹² We know from the Godāvari plates of Prthivimūla that *adhirāja* means overlord. The inscription is dated in the 47th year.¹³ We know from the Polamūru plates that Mādhavavarman reigned for forty years.¹⁴ Such a long reign as forty-seven years for Mādhavavarman, son of Devavarman, is improbable in view of the fact that he was succeeded by his uncle, himself having died childless. It is therefore very probable that the edict was issued by Mādhavavarman the younger, who had been put in charge of the kingdom by his grandfather when the latter was away busy with his wars with Kaliṅga. The Polamūru plates show that in the 40th year of his reign Mādhavavarman *Janāśraya* crossed the Godāvari with a view to conquer the eastern region. *Ipūr I* plates of the 37th year of Mādhavavarman *Janāśraya* record the grant of the village of Vilembali in the district of Guddādi to the Brahman Agniśarman of the Vatsa *goteṣu*. *Ipūr II* refers to the two donees Agniśarman and Indrasarman. The words preceding *Agniśarmendru (śarma) bhy (ā) m* are obliterated, and Hultzsch has not read them. One donee seems thus to be common

10. 'Śrī-Vikramendrevarmasaḥ', Chikkulla plates, l. l. 10.

'Śrī-Vikramahendrasya', Polamūru plates, l. 4.

Śrī-Govindavarmasaḥ', *ibid.*, l. 6.

11. *Kṣatrigāvaśakandaprabhārt (t) ita apratimavikṣ (yā) taparākramasya*.

12. *Viṣṇukunḍa (ś) yadhirājadhīpādātta*.

13. The numerical symbols were read as (4)7 by Hultzsch. Says he: "The first figure of the year in the date portion of the ... inscription (l. 13), is injured and uncertain" (p. 338). Sircar reads it as 10. But as the upper part of the symbol is clearly the upper part of the symbol for four Hultzsch's conjectural reading is correct.

The curves considered by Sircar are merely scratches far below the line.

14. Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao and others read the symbol as 48. But as in *Ipūr II* even the symbols for 47 are the symbols for 4 and 7, and not one symbol, and as there is not a single instance of the combination of two symbols in one, such a reading has to be abandoned. What is taken as a ligature for 8 is only the flourish of the lower part of the vertical of the symbol for 40.

to both the grants. It would therefore seem that Ipūr II is also dated in the reign Mādhavavarman Janāśraya of eleven Aśvamedhas fame. In that case Ipūr I is prior to Ipūr II only by ten years. And there are not insuperable palaeographical objections to placing Ipūr II ten years after Ipūr I. Firstly though both the records were found in the possession of Brindāvanam Gopālāchari at the village of Ipūr in the Tenali Taluq of the Guntur district, they do not seem to have belonged to the same locality. The first set records the grant of the village of Vilembali in the Guddādi viṣaya, by the king from his camp at Kuḍāvāḍa. Guddādi viṣaya is the Guddavādi viṣaya to which Drākṣarāma and Chellūr in the Godāvāri district belonged. The name of the viṣaya which contained the second grant is obliterated.

The alphabet of II has those thick dots and that bold writing which characterise the grant of Dāmodaravarman and of some of the kings of Kalinga.¹⁵ Hultsch says that the alphabet of Ipūr II reminds us of the British Museum plates of Cāruḍeṇi. But the comparison between the carelessly written Cāruḍeṇi grant and this grant is not happy. While speaking of Ipūr I Hultsch said that "The alphabet is of an earlier southern type than that of the two other published grants of the Viṣṇukunḍin family. The secondary forms of *i* and *ī* are not always clearly distinguished; in 'kuṇḍinām'—(l. 1) *i* looks like *ī*, and in *bhagavacchripurvata* (l. 1), *śrī Govinda* (l. 3), and—*mahi*—(l. 4), *ī* looks like *i*." But in Ipūr II the distinction between *i* and *ī* is clear e.g., *i* in *agnistoma* (l. 2), *priyaputraḥ* (l. 5), and *ī* in *Śrī-Devevarmaṇaḥ* and *Śrīparvatasvāmī* (ll. 5 and 6); the *o* sign is as developed as that in I grant—*agnistoma* (l. 2). The tail of Ipūr II *la* is as developed as that of I *la*. Ipūr II *ṣa* is in no way more developed than the Ipūr I *ṣa*. On the other hand *ṇa* of the former has a larger bottom than that of the latter and in this respect it resembles the Maṭṭepāḍ *ṇa*. *Ji* in l. 2 Ipūr II is more developed than *ji* in I l. 7. *Ta* without the loop occurs in I also (l. 13). *Pā-s* in both have looped bottoms. II *ta* and *ṇa* resemble the Maṭṭepāḍ ones. No doubt the reascent of the vertical of *ra* and *ka* is not as pronounced in II as in I. But the subscript in *kra* has a better flourish in II than I; e.g., *parākramaṣya* I, l. 1; II, l. 5. Much of the difference between the two alphabets is due to the fact that Ipūr II alphabet is of an angular and bolder type while the alphabet of I is slanting and small. Moreover the affil-

15. EI, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff., pp. 2 ff.

ations of the alphabets of II are with the Maṭṭepaḍ grant whilst the alphabet of I is closely related to the grants found in the northern parts (e.g., the grant of Nandaprabhañjanavarman).

The foregoing arguments, some of them positive and others negative, prove that there are no insuperable difficulties in putting Ipūr II as later than Ipūr I. And the arguments adduced above also show that Ipūr II belongs to the reign to which Ipūr I belongs and that the interval between the two is only ten years. Ipūr II, in other words, is a grant of the grandson dated in the reign of his grandfather.

We may in passing note the patent objections to the genealogical scheme built by Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao and others. They have identified the Vikramahendra of the Polamūru plates with the Vikramendravarman II of the Chikkulla plates. It may be pointed out that Vikramahendra of the Polamūru plates is not even as names go the same as the Vikramendra of the Chikkulla grant. Vikramendravarman II's grandfather is also known as Vikramendra. To place the Ipūr and Polamūru grants after the Chikkulla and Rāmatīrtham grants is palaeographically impossible. Since two Mādhavavarman have been made three K. V. Lakshmana Rao wonders why *Aśvamedhas* should have been the monopoly of Mādhavavarman!

The chronology of the Viṣṇukunḍin dynasty can now be settled within reasonable limits. While editing the Polamūru plates,¹⁶ Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao pointed out that the grant recorded in these plates was renewed by Jayasinha I whose date is known. Both grants were found buried in the same village, one by the side of the other. The Polamūru plates say that when Mādhavavarman had set out on an eastern expedition and crossed the Godāvarī, he made an *agrahāra* of the village of Puloṁbūra on the Daḷiya-vāyī river and of four *nivartanas* of land at the southern extremity of Mayindavāṭaki, and granted it to Śivaśarman of the Gautama gotra resident of Kunṛūra in the Karmarāṣṭra. The grant of Jayasinha I who began to rule from 633 A.D., records that in his fifth year (638) he granted the village of Puloṁbūra in the Guddavāḍi viṣaya to Rudraśarman son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman. In Mādhavavarman's grant it is Śivaśarman son of Dāmaśarman that gets the same village. So it is clear that the Polamūru grant of Mādhavavarman is separated from the grant of

16. *The Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XI.

Jayasinhha by at least one generation. The Polamūru grant of Mādhavavarman is dated in the 40th year of Mādhavavarman. If, as is stated in the grant of Jayasinhha, Rudraśarman was the owner of the *agrahāya* before he was dispossessed of it, the interval may be greater, say 35 to 45 years. So Mādhavavarman's reign falls between 553-593, the period of Dāmodaravarman and Attivarman (Kandāra). The day on which the grant was made was Phalguni Pūrṇimā on which lunar eclipse occurred. And the chronology worked out in this chapter makes 593 a possible date for the Polamūru grant.

Mādhavavarman's period is then between 553-593 or more. Vikramendravarman, Indrabhattāśakavarman, Vikramendravarman II might each be assigned a period of 25 years, and the end of the dynasty brought to the latter part of the seventh century A.D., a generation after the advent of the Eastern Cālukyas.



ADDITIONAL NOTE TO CHAPTERS III AND IV

In a monograph entitled '*Reconstruction of Andhra Chronology*' in the pages of the *J.A.S.B.*¹ Mr. G. Bose has drawn revolutionary conclusions from equally revolutionary assumptions and interpretations. He has handled the Purāṇic material shrewdly. But his reconstructed chronology breaks down at every step.

To him the Purāṇic evidence is everything and the epigraphic one is utterly futile. The Purāṇic chronological data if properly assessed would give 3101 (Kali)—2700 = 401 B.C. as the date of Nanda's coronation. The Purāṇas place the end of the Andhra dynasty 838 years after the advent of the Nandas. The lower limit is therefore 437 A.D. The dynastic total gives us 21 B.C. as the starting point. This is corroborated by the legend that the first Śālivāhana killed Vikramāditya who is supposed by Mr. G. Bose to be the author of the Vikrama Era. A Kaṇhēri inscription² and the Gīrnār inscription prove that Puṣumāvi was the son-in-law of Rudradāman. Puṣumāvi's date is near 150 A.D.; Gautamīputra is known from Nāsik records to be his father. As the starting-point is 21 B.C., Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi must be Nos. 6 and 7 in the Purāṇic lists, and not Nos. 23 and 24 as supposed till now, for 21 B.C.+the regnal years of the first five kings would take us to 74 A.D. and Nos. 6 and 7 reigned for 74 years up to 148 A.D. Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi of the records have been identified so far with Nos. 23 and 24 on the slender and often false guide of identity of names. 'The name Gautamīputra is not an exclusive one and might be applied in conjunction with siri-Sātakaṇi to more than one Andhra king. It is on such a weak foundation that the whole structure of modern Andhra chronology has been built up.' No. 7 is called Lambodara, but it is a sobriquet and there is nothing against the supposition that his personal name was Puṣumāvi. 'Of course the regnal periods of Lambodara (18 years) and Puṣumāvi (24 years) do not tally.' The same is the case with Siri-Yaśa³ who is assigned in the Purāṇas 19 years while the inscriptions show that he reigned for at least 27 years. The Yue-guai

1. Letters V 1939, No. 1, pp. 1-131.

2. Lüders' List, No. 994.

3. Some Purāṇas assign him 29 years.

of Klapili of 408 A.D. identified by Wilson with Siri-Yaña supports these conclusions. All these Mr. G. Bose calls a four-fold point of contact.

What is claimed to be a four-fold point of contact is really the Purāṇic evidence with other pieces of evidence twisted to fall in line with it. It has been shown in an earlier chapter that Puḷumāvi could not have been the son-in-law of Rudradāman and that the Sātakaṇi of the Girnār record also cannot be the son-in-law of Rudradāman, but a later king.

The early Sātavāhanas do not bear metronymics. Even the Bhilsa inscription of the time of an early Sātakaṇi gives only the metronymic of the *avesaṇi* Ānanda. Kings after No. 22 almost invariably bear metronymics.

Puḷumāvi is a peculiar name and has been given on all the coins and inscriptions of the kings bearing it. Even when the title Navanarasāmi is given⁴ the personal name is not omitted. The name Puḷumāvi occurs thrice in the Purāṇic lists. It is hard to believe that the great Gautamīputra is not mentioned in the Purāṇas by his only non-surname while the only Gautamīputra is an insignificant Gautamīputra Vijivāyakura. Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi are juxtaposed only lower in the list. The Apilaka coin, and the coins of Vijaya and Skanda belonging to the Akola hoard, make an attack on Purāṇic names extremely dangerous.

Epigraphic evidence of the weightiest kind shatters Mr. Bose's conclusions. The interval between Gautamīputra and Siri-Yaña of 320 years and that between Puḷumāvi and Siri-Yaña of 265 years are too long. That between Gautamīputra and Kaṇha of 53 years is too short. Fortunately we have at Nāsik a stream of inscriptions belonging to different reigns—of Kaṇha's time, of Hakuṣiri's grand-daughter, of Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi, and of Siri-Yaña's time. Nāsik palaeography is therefore a weighty and accurate evidence. The inscription of Kaṇha's time⁵ with its *da* open to the left, rounded *va*, *ka* with a short vertical, narrow-bottomed *ha*; angular *ta* and short strokes and curves for *u* and *i* signs, is very early in the series. It is more related to the Aśokan inscriptions. Fifty-three years are not sufficient for the development of these early forms into *a*, *ka* and *ra* with long verticals curved ornamen-

4. Nāsik No. 3, EI, Vol. VIII.

5. No. 2 in the Purāṇic lists. EI, Vol. VIII, Pl. VI.

tally at the lower end, *ya* with angular bottom and very ornamental *i* and *u* signs.⁶ Hakusiri's grand-daughter's inscription, conclusively proves that even two generations after Kappa had not changed materially the *da* open to the left and the rounded bottom of *ya* and *pa*; *la* and *ha* and *i* and *u* signs are still primitive. Only *sa*, *ka* and *ra* are slightly developed. The development is so slight and the older forms are so pronounced, that the wonder is not that there is change, but it is so slight. Nāsik Nos. 2 (Pujumāvi) and 24 (Siri-Yañā) are palaeographically so closely related that we cannot postulate more than a two-generation interval without committing a great error. The treatment of the verticals of *ka*, *ra* and *ka*, and the angular *pa* are the same in both. The close resemblance of the *a-s* *sa-s*, *da-s*, *ha-s* and the *i* signs of the two inscriptions deserve notice. Palaeography though not a safe guide in fixing narrow margins, is a safe and sure criterion in fixing or disproving long intervals, and it will not do to brush it aside as Bose does.

Mr. Bose's scheme makes meaningless Gotami Balasiri's remark that her son inherited 'from a long line of ancestors the privilege of kingly music.' His suggestion that it refers to the predecessors of Simuka as governors under the Kāṇvas is a desperate guess. Therefore the orthodox theory rests on a much securer basis than mere identity of names, on the rock of epigraphic evidence.

Other conclusions of Mr. Bose are that Gautamiputra was the founder of the Śaka era, that Siri-Yañā is the king of the Nāne-ghāt record and that Pujumāvi was a viceroy under his father. To him Balasiri's inscription when considered along with the Purāṇic account and the Śālivāhana tradition 'throws unexpected light on the origin of the Śaka era'. Khakharāta is perhaps the Prakṛt form of Śakarāt. Tradition points to Śālivāhana the enemy of Vikramāditya as Śakendra, Śakāditya and Śaka. If we suppose a confusion between Nos. 1 and 6, we can look upon the victories recorded in No. 2 as the starting point of an era. Once this theory is admitted 'it will be seen that there is no alternative but to recognise that the Western Satraps, who dated in the Śaka era, were tributaries to the Andhras' and the 'evidence in favour of the Andhra origin of the Śaka era is fairly conclusive.'

6. Nāsik Nos. 4 and 5, EI, Vol. VIII, Pl. II.

This is only the revival of an old theory. If the Junnar inscription of Ayama, minister of Nahapāna, is dated in the Śaka era we are led to the absurd suggestion that Nahapāna died long before $78+46=124$ A.D., (that is in 78 A.D., the year of hostilities between Gautamīputra and Nahapāna as worked out by Mr. Bose), but that a person called himself his minister even long after his death. In Western Kṣatrapa inscriptions the words are *vara* or *varṣa* and the name of the month, whereas in the Sātavāhana inscriptions they are *saṁvatsara* and *pakṣa*. It is also curious that an era started by Gautamīputra is not used either by himself or what is more important by his son and successors. Would the Western Kṣatrapas have continued with religious fervour to use on their coins and in their inscriptions an era which started with their defeat—a constant reminder of their fall and chains? And that too, long after the Sātavāhana glories had passed away like a forgotten dream? Mr. Bose's theory narrows down to nothing the interval between the Prākṛt records of Nahapāna's line (years 45 and 46) and the Sanskrit record of year 52. It is all the more significant that the daughter of Rudradāman and a Sātavāhana queen uses Sanskrit. The more plausible suggestion is that it started with a revival of Śaka power after the crushing blow it had received at the hands of Gautamīputra. In cognate records *kha* is the Prākṛtic form for *kṣa* or *ṣa* or *sa* in Sanskrit, e.g. Khandapālita, Khatiya. The question of the Śaka era is a knotty one, but Mr. Bose's conjecture based on his interpretation of tradition will certainly not fit into known historical facts.

The Girnār record says that Rudradāman was the lord (*pati*) of Akara, Avanti, Anūpa, Anarta, Surāṣṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Kukura, Aparānta, etc. In No. 2 Kukura, Surāṣṭra, Aparānta, Anūpa, Akara and Avanti of which Gautamīputra was the lord (*rājā*) are mentioned just before *Saka-Yavana-Pahlava nisūdanasa* and *Khakharātavasa niravasesa karasa*. These leave no doubt about the contest between the two powers and all theory of the appointment of Rudradāman and Caṣṭana by Gautamīputra is shattered by the words 'and other territories gained by his own valour'.

The view that Uṣavadāta was governor under Gautamīputra is blasted by the Nāsik and Kārlā records. The mention of the Veja-

7. Girnār inscription, l. 1, 11.

yanti army, the non-mention of the purchase from Uṣavadāta of the land granted, though he is mentioned as the previous owner of the land⁸ and the official nature of the records⁹ make the theory of conquest, transfer and utter destruction of Khakharāta power doubly certain. The Kārlā inscriptions Nos. 13 and 19 record the grant of the same village of Karajaka by Uṣavadāta and a Sāta-vāhana king, almost certainly Gautamīputra, and the entry of it in the state archives. What else can this signify except a change of government?

The author's remarks about Siri-Yañā are the most startling. He looks upon Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña as the restricker of Nahanā's coins long after they were issued.¹⁰ The comparison with the Vīlīyākura practice is unhappy as in the latter case no conquest is involved. If his theory is correct, we should find the personal name 'Yañā' which we find invariably on his numerous coins and his inscriptions. On the restruck coins, on the other hand, we have only *Gotamīputasa Siri-Sātakapisa*.

The Nāneghāt record is ascribed to Siri-Yañā.¹¹ The argument is as follows: the names Satisiri (which he Sanskritizes as Śuktaśrī on the supposition that Prakṛtic form is a corruption) and Vedisiri of the princess of the Nāneghāt record are in conformity with the name Siri-Yañā; the worn out name of the king in the inscription ends with 'siri,' wherefore it must be Yañāsiri. Vedic rites in the place of Buddhistic ceremonies were likely to have been inaugurated by the royal personages on the re-establishment on the throne of the Sātavāhana sub-clan, which occurred at the time of Siri-Yañā. The placing of the relieve figure of Śiśuka, the first Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty, along with those of the other members of Siri-Yañā's family was to emphasize the fact that the Sātavāhana sub-clan was re-established: Vedaśrī is to be identified with Cada Sāti read as Vada Sāti on coins, and Vada Sāti or Cada Sāti is next to Siri-Yañā in the Purāṇic lists. The conservatism of State engravers as also the presence of other inscriptions near at hand, which served as epigraphic models to them, would

8. Nāsik, No. 4.

9. *Ibid.*, Nos. 4, 10 and 12.

10. P. 111 §. 191.

11. P. 111 §. 190.

explain the old form of the Nāneghāt script¹² (*italics mine*). The author of the remark that mere names are false guides in identifications hangs all his conclusions on the slender name Yaña, which could have been borne by any king as sacrifices were not the monopoly of one king. 'Sati' is a variant of 'Sata' which is a contraction for Sātakanī.¹³ If every Vedisiri must be the son of Siri-Yaña then all Skanda Sātakanīs must be looked upon as sons of Puranic Sivasiri. On Siri-Yaña's coins and inscriptions 'siri' is only a prefix. It is only the Purāṇas which give Yajñaśrī. 'Siri' as a name ending does not occur in any of the later inscriptions and coins or in the so-called early inscriptions of Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi. If Vedic rites were performed by one who revived the glories of the dynasty, there is greater reason to believe that an early member of the dynasty performed them to announce and assert the new glories. The author has obviously misunderstood the purport of the Nāsik and Kārlā grants. They do not show Buddhist leanings of the kings, but were mere political acts intended to win the support of or at least reconcile the Buddhist monks to the new regime. The inscription of Canda Sāti disposes of any attempt to read the name as Vada Sāti which again cannot be equated with Vedisiri. The identification of the 29th king with Vedisiri is more than fantastic. The utter flouting of palaeographic evidence is thoroughly unscientific. Wherefrom Bose gets his idea of the conservatism of state engravers of our period, we do not know. There are no other inscriptions at Nāneghāt to serve as models other than the long sacrificial record and the relief inscriptions. The Nāneghāt record of a later king Cataramana Sātakanī shows later forms only.¹⁴ It is a far cry from the Nāneghāt script which is a little more developed than the Aśoka to the Siri-Yaña alphabets which are as developed as those of the Ikṣvākus.

It remains to speak of the theory of vicerealty of Puṣumāvi of Nāsik, Nos. 2 and 3 under Gautamīputra. "The epithets and titles (in Nāsik No. 2) leave no room for the doubt that Gautamīputra was the paramount lord and Vāsiṣṭhiputra had a subordinate position. Under these circumstances one would naturally expect the inscription to be dated in the regnal years of the paramount

12. P. 167, §. 181.

13. EI, Vol. XVI.

14. JBBRAS, Vol. XIII.

king but it is not so. The most plausible explanation is that Balasiri had been living with her grandson who was a provincial ruler under his father." It is Bhandarkar's theory of conjoint rule walking in new clothes. The expressions, *pitupatiyo* applied to father and *mahādeviṇa nyakāya sevakāmo piyakāmo ca*, leaves no doubt that the grand-mother was living and the father was not when the inscription was incised. Nāsik No. 3 is issued in the same way as No. 4.¹⁵ Navanarasāmi reminds us of Benākatakasāmi. The *amaca* at Govadhana is addressed in both; both have the prefix *siri*; in both the regnal years of the kings concerned are given. In what way No. 3 can be construed to be the order of a Viceroy and the other that of a King of Kings one fails to understand. Moreover, if Govadhana was in Pulumāvi's province one would expect Gautamīputra in No. 4 to issue the order through Pulumāvi. The regnal years of Pulumāvi given in Nos. 2 and 3 are enough to shatter Mr. Bose's theory though he glosses over this fact. In all cognate records the year of the reigning king is given. The epithets lavished upon Gautamīputra are explained by the motherly feelings towards the dead son and by his grand exploits ('the funeral oration of a disconsolate mother'). Nothing can be made out of *rāja* applied to Pulumāvi and *rājārāja* applied to his father as both are called *mahārāja*s towards the end. Moreover Pulumāvi is also styled [Dakṣiṇa] *pathesarō*, a title which is not viceregal.¹⁶ Gautamīputra is also called *rāja* in No. 4 and 5.

One minor conclusion may also be studied. Nāsik No. 5 is said to be a joint order of Gautamīputra and his queen Jivasutā. As according to Indian custom as long as the mother-in-law is living the daughter-in-law would not find any prominent mention anywhere, Gotamī Balasiri must have died between 97 and 100 A.D.

Since No. 2 is the record of Pulumāvi's reign Gotamī Balasiri outlived her glorious son. The theory of the vicereignty of Pulumāvi having been disproved, how can the so-called Jivasutā call herself *rājamatā*; as Pulumāvi is a Vāsithīputra one would expect to find the *gotra* name of the queen. To Mr. Bose the translation 'one whose son is living' is absurd, because it is a joint-order of Gautamīputra and a *mahādevi*. But the association of a lady in the govern-

15. EI, Vol. VIII.

16. According to Senart *Dakṣiṇa* is 'a conjecture although more than a probable one.' Between the two creases there are traces of a letter. It cannot however be read as *da* though it is tempting to do so.

ment shows the failing health or more probably the illness of the king and under such circumstances, 'king's mother whose son is living' is neither absurd nor superfluous. Nāsik No. 2 speaks of him as *aviparamāta susūśaka*.¹⁷

Mr. G. Bose's monograph in short contains nothing new, and must be considered unsatisfactory in every way as an attempt to reinterpret the familiar data.



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Yavana (Yona), 1, 76, 92ff., 94.

Yśmetika, 52.

Yue-gnai (Sīri-Yajña), 209.

Yugapradhāna-svarūpa, 16.



ILLUSTRATIONS



*Plates II, IV-2 and VIII-1 are reproduced with the kind permission of
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(1) A new inscription from the Cātya Cave—Kāthi.



(2) A silver coin of Vasubhūta Śāri-Śrākṣa—enlarged 2½ times.



Remains of the *relievo* figures and the inscriptions above them
—Nureghāt cave.



(1) Nāgarjunikonda Valley



(2) Remains of the viharas on the Nāgavallabhadra contour



(1) Remains of the *mandapa* east of the *Mahāstupa* founded in the fifteenth century of Vikramādiśāta.



(2) A coin of Śiṣya Śiṣya-Āpālakā



(1) Monastery on a mound (Great Dhammagiri) to the N.W.
at Nāgārāṭhoda



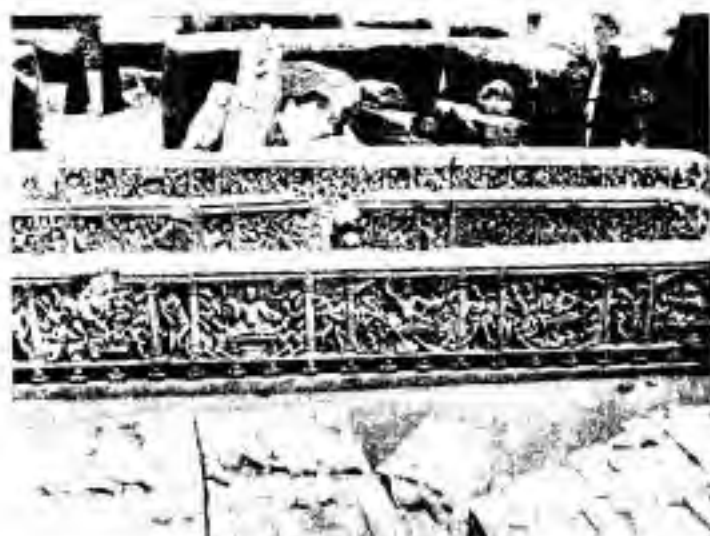
(2) The *Halācetiya*—Nāgārjunikonda



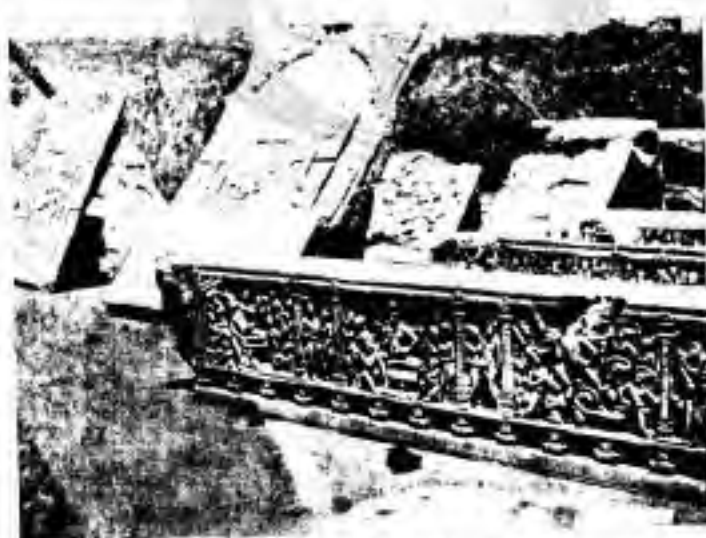
(3) The Mahācetiya—Nāgajindakaṇḍa.



(4) Another view of the monastery on the mound
N. W. of Nāherullaboda.



(1) Sculptured beams from *Stupa* No. 6—*Nāgārjunikonda*.



(2) Sculptured *Amara* from *Stupa* No. 6—*Nāgārjunikonda*.



(3) Apsidal temple by the side of the *Mahārathu*—Nagārjunikonda



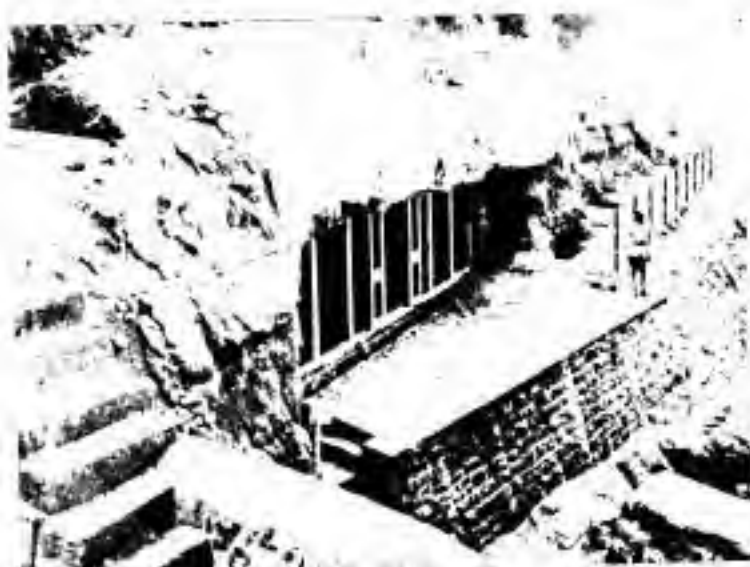
(4) Another view of same



Stupa slabs from Stupa No. 6—Nāgajunikonda.



Fragment of a statue of the Buddha—Nāgajunikonda.



(1) The Nānēghāt cave in which the long sacrificial inscription is inscribed.



(2) Kārū Cetiya Cave. X marks the new inscription.



(1) *Satishgaurabha—Kāñā. Cōtva. mva.*



(2) *Sculptures at the entrance to the Cōya cave—Kāñā.*



(1) Three-storied *vihara* - Karla



(2) Mahayanist sculptures in cave No. 24 - Nasik



(11) Medals and medallions on a pillar in the Queen's Cave.—Nasik



(12) Queen's Cave.—Nasik



(1) Cave of the time of Kanha Satavahana—Nashik



(2) Cetiya Cave—Nashik

